THE OFFICIAL HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1914-1918

VOLUME X RABAUL



THE

AUSTRALIANS AT RABAUL

THE CAPTURE AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE GERMAN POSSESSIONS IN THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC

BY

S. S. MACKENZIE

With 55 maps and 91 illustrations

Tenth Edition

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PREFACE

THE official records relating to the military occupation of New Guinea form indispensable authority for much that comes within the scope of this volume; but they are often meagre in detail, and many are merely official communiqués dealing in bare outline with salient facts or incidents. Events as they happened, and administrative questions or problems as they arose, were mentioned by the Military Administrator in despatches, reports, or memoranda, addressed either to the Minister for Defence or to the Secretary: for the most part these communications are brief and formal, and do not yield to the historian any rich store of picturesque detail. When files relating to New Guinea originated at Defence headquarters in Melbourne, and dealt with matters such as the organising and equipping of the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force and of the Tropical Force, and with such questions of policy as involved departmental action, they are full and complete. Despatches of Colonel Holmes concerning the organisation and departure of his force, the voyage of the Berrima, the negotiations with the German Governor, and the terms of capitulation, give accurate and detailed information; but his official account of the landing at Kabakaul and of the fighting on the Bitapaka road—incidents of cardinal interest to a narrator of the military occupation of New Guinea—is not, except as an authoritative statement of the general plan of operations, of material assistance,

The only British official record giving precise particulars of the landing and fighting on 11th September, 1914, is contained in a report prepared with great care by Major P. Molloy, R.M.L.I., not long after the capitulation of the German forces. It is based on statements made by officers and men—both Australian and German—who took part in the operations; but it does not altogether clear up some confused issues, nor does it deal with all the phases of the fighting. The author of the present volume has had opportunities of visiting the ground fought over, of investigating points hitherto in doubt or dispute, of collating the official German reports with that of Major Molloy, and his narrative of the

fighting near Kabakaul has been carefully checked and further elaborated by the general editor, with the assistance of several of those who took part in the events. It is therefore hoped that the account of the military operations, concerning which little appears to be generally known in Australia, is neither incomplete nor inaccurate in any material particular. With the exception of Mollov's narrative of the military operations, a report by Major F. A. Maguire on the medical services (which, however, covers only the period from 19th August, 1914, to 9th January, 1915), and a diary kept by Colonel Holmes—in which are recorded the events of each day from the date of his appointment to command until his return to Australia in January, 1915—there is in existence on the Australian side nothing in the nature of a connected narrative. whether of events as they occurred or of the work or activities of any branch of the military administration. The history of the military occupation has therefore been pieced together from a mass of official documents, in which references to administrative questions or problems often appear merely as parts of reports dealing with other subject-matters. Every statement or reference in this volume is based on the official records of the Defence Department, or on German official reports, or on other evidence which the writer has carefully tested, considered, and accepted as authentic. With regard. however, to questions of administrative policy and to many other topics it would have been difficult to fashion the available material into a connected narrative, if the writer had not enjoyed exceptional opportunities for gaining an intimate official knowledge of all branches of the administration. To some extent, therefore, the relative importance of events, and the way in which they are presented, are the outcome of experience gained during a period of service-from April, 1015. to December, 1920—as legal adviser to the Military Administration, as chief judicial officer of the colony, and, for two terms, as Acting-Administrator. Memory, however, is treacherous, and individual judgment far from infallible. The greatest care has accordingly been taken to verify every reference and to confirm from other sources personal recollections or impressions. The official records of the Department of Defence have been very thoroughly searched; those which

supply authority for matters contained in this volume have been closely studied; and it is believed that no file relating to the military occupation has been overlooked.

The writer is indebted for various forms of help to the following:—The Right Honourable Sir Adrian Knox, Chief Justice of Australia: Sir Robert Garran, Solicitor-General for the Commonwealth; His Excellency Sir Hubert Murray, Lieutenant-Governor of Papua; Messrs T. Trumble, W. A. Newman, H. S. Temby, and T. J. McGrath of the Department of Defence; Mr. J. G. McLaren, Secretary of the Home and Territories Department; Mr. G. S. Knowles, Assistant-Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department; Mr. Arthur Iose, the author of the naval volume of this history; Colonel A. Graham Butler, Medical Historian; Captain I. Stevenson; Commanders R. G. Bowen and F. G Cresswell; Lieutenant-Commanders O. W. Gillam and D. Macdonald; Colonels F. B. Heritage and C. L. Strangman; Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Cummins; Messrs, H. B. Pope, Australian Commissioner for Nauru, A. F. Newman, formerly senior clerk in the Radio Service, and W. Kember; Dr. F. Antill Pockley, and many others. The smaller explanatory maps and plans appearing in the text are the work of Mr. P. R. Wightman; Mr. A. E. Scammell has drawn most of the larger maps. writer also offers his thanks to Mr. Charles Bryant, and to the Director of the Australian War Memorial, for permission to reproduce in this volume two paintings which faithfully reflect the glow and colour of New Guinea.

The account of the discovery and exploration of the Territory is based on Sir Clement Markham's Progress of Discovery on the Coasts of New Guinea (Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers). Reference has also been made to the historical introduction to Quick and Garran's Annotated Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia; to The Commonwealth Bank of Australia, by C. C. Faulkner; to The New Pacific, by Brunsdon Fletcher; to Our New Possessions, by Captain J. Lyng; and to the Commonwealth Government's reports to the League of Nations. For the early history of the Protectorate, the writer has consulted standard German works on New Guinea and the German official files.

In the account of the position at Rabaul at the outbreak of the war, and in the narrative of the military operations, the following German official reports have been freely used:— Report on the Military Events in German New Guinea, by the Acting-Governor, Herr E. Haber; Report on the Occurrences in New Britain until the return of the Acting-Governor to Rabaul, by Herr Schlettwein, the deputy of the Acting-Governor; and the Report on the Activities of the armed forces in German New Guinea during the period from 5th August to 21st September, 1914, with two supplementary reports, by Rittmeister von Klewitz.

Some apology may be necessary for introducing the past history of the Protectorate into a record of the military occupation. But the problems of administration could not be clearly understood without such a background. From the same wish to present every event in its proper setting, the writer has thought it necessary to give a brief geographical description of New Guinea, and to this, for the sake of interest, has been added an outline of the discovery and exploration of the various parts of the Territory.

The volume deals with an occasion on which Australian soldiers were called upon to carry on the administration of enemy territory. The writer hopes that he has been able to show that to the fulfilment of this task, and to the solution of the novel problems which they encountered, they brought the same qualities of initiative and resource as were shown, in other circumstances, by their comrades in Gallipoli and France.

S. S. M.

MELBOURNE,

4th February, 1927.

CONTENTS

I.	GERMAN COLONISATION IN THE PACIFIC—THE OUTBREAK OF WAR	1
II.	THE "OLD PROTECTORATE": DISCOVERY AND ANNEXA-	7
III.	THE DESPATCH OF THE A.N. & M.E.F	23
1 V .	RABAUL AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR	36
v.	THE SEIZURE OF NEW BRITAIN	50
VI.	THE TERMS OF CAPITULATION	90
VII.	THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY ADMINISTRATION	105
VIII.	THE CAPTURE OF THE Komet	127
IX.	THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF NAURU	138
X.	THE NORTH-WEST PACIFIC EXPEDITION	148
XI.	TRANSFER OF THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATORSHIP .	174
XII.	THE EARLY STAGES OF THE PETHEBRIDGE ADMINISTRATION	τ89
XIII.	WORK OF THE AUSTRALIAN ARMY MEDICAL CORPS .	207
XIV.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF NATIVE AFFAIRS	219
XV.	FINANCIAL PROBLEMS	234
XVI.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE	251
XVII.	LAND POLICY AND THE CONTROL OF TRADE AND COMMERCE	273
XVIII.	The Outstations	295
XIX.	GARRISON LIFE	316
XX.	LATER PHASES OF THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.	335
XXI.	THE MANDATE AND THE END OF THE MILITARY	
	Occupation	345
	Appendices	367
	1. German Diaries Found at Rabaul	367
	2. German Proclamation of a State of War at Rabaul	372
	3. Translation of Instructions Found on Lieutenant Kempf	373
	4. Official Documents Concerning the Surrender of German New Guinea	374
	5. The Proclamation issued in German by Colonel Holmes	384
	INDEX	287



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

_	~				Brigade	at Ka			ith of Frontish	
Rabaul	ptembe		1914	•	••	••	••	• •		6
Herber				• •	• •	••	••	••	••	8
Govern	-		ion	Vania	na.	••	••	••	••	13
					Blanche	Ray	••	••	••	17
Colone	_				Dialicile	Бау	••	••	••	23
					A.N. &		Tatthe	Agric	ultural	-3
					ck, Augi				••	26
	_				Fort Mac			ckatoo 1	Ísland,	_
18	th Au	gus	t, 19	14	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	28
					ttalion at				• •	30
Embar	kation	of	the l	Naval l	Brigade a	t Cock	atoo Isla	nd	• •	31
Church	ı para	de	in t	he Be	rrima		••	••	••	34
Men o	f the	A.N	I. &	M.E.F	. training	at Pa	alm Islan	ds	• •	35
Part o	f the	Na	val F	3rigade	at Paln	n Islan	ıds			35
Rabaul	[٠.						• •	• •	37
Toma					••					42
Part o	f the	Ger	man	force	in New	Guinea	ı		••	44
Germa	n rese	rvi	sts in	nstruct	ing nativ	e troo	ps in mu	sketry	••	46
Talili										50
Kabak	aul. so	ene	of	the la	nding of	11th	Septembe	er, 1914		52
					g the den					56
Captai							••	•		57
-				•	ion of th	ne firs	t trench			62
					nanding v				oad	6.3
					f the sec					64
					from the		_	1		66
	-				he to K					67
					na watel					•
	bakau		••••		••	••	••	••	••	70
The m	achine	e-gu	n se	ction o	of the A	N. &	M.E.F.		••	70
					g up the			iuary, I	915	72
Men	of t	he	Na	val I	Brigade	and	machine	-gun s	ection,	
H	erberts	shöl	ie, S	eptemb	er 1914	••	••		••	73
Arriya	ıl of	Col	onel	Holme	es and st		Proclan	nation S	iquare,	
					er, 1914	•••				76
					e leading				cabaul,	76
1.3	טכ זוו	PICI	いりたり	1914	• •		• •		• • •	, ,

German residents watching the march through Rabaul	of the A.N. & M.E.	F.
Dr. Haber and Captain von Klewitz a	rriving at Herbertshöl	ıе,
A German column arriving at Herberts	höhe on 21st Septemb	er,
German and native troops drawn up	at Herbertshöhe. 2:	·· [st
September, 1914	••	•••
"H" Company of the 1st Battalion, A		.u1
The occupation of Madang, 24th Septe	emb er , 1914	• •
An outpost at Madang, 1914		••
Colonel Holmes and staff at Govern Rabaul, 1914	ment House, Namanu	la,
Government House, Rabaul	••	••
The New Guinea Company's store at	Rahaul	
Troops landing at Kieta, Bougainville,		
Hoisting the Union Jack at Kieta	y 2000	•
The German naval yacht Komet		· ·
The Nusa		
Officers of the Rabaul garrison, 1914		
Nauru, showing portion of the Phosph		
Gathering of troops, European resident	s, and natives to witne	ess
the hoisting of the Union Jack as	t Nauru, 7th Novemb	er,
1914 3rd Battalion (Tropical Force), A.N.	& MEE tesining	٠.
Liverpool Camp, November 1914	. & M.E.F., training	at
Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Petheb	ridge	
Men of the Tropical Force paraded for	•	er
1914		
Naval flagstaff at Madang dressed to	celebrate the arrival	οf
s.s. Matunga		• •
The reconnaissance to Angorum, 9th-1		• •
The flagstaff at Kokopo on the spot when first hoisted in German New Guine	here the British flag w	as
The Matupi battery, Simpson Harbour		• •
The Meklona	•• ••	• •
The Bitapaka Wireless station	••	• •
A group of Sydney University men b	valonging to the A M	٠.
M.E.F		
		- •
The native hospital at Kieta	• • • • •	
-	lands	••
Native village at Manus, Admiralty Is Native police, Rabaul	lands	• •

Natives picking over coffee	2 5
Native village in the Käwieng district 244	5
THE Rabaul Blanch of the Commonwealth Dank of Hustrana 24	3
A donkey team on the plantation of the Mission of the Divine Word, Port Alexis 255	
Brigadier-General Pethebridge and staff, with heads of administrative departments, 1917 260	5
Natives husking coconuts for copra 270	5
A survey camp in the jungle at Marberi, Bougainville, April, 1917 28.	4
A survey party at work, New Ireland 28.	1
The river at Sohun, near Namatanai)
Road from Käwieng, New Ireland 29.	4
District Headquarters at Kokopo 300)
A district officer on patrol 30	4
Kieta	3
The district officer's residence at Lorengau 310	5
Rabaul 320)
The military cemetery at Rabaul 32	4
A bungalow at the Toma sanatorium wrecked by earthquake, 1st	
January, 1916 32	4
The post office at Kokopo 32.	_
King's birthday parade at Rabaul, 3rd June, 1916 32	_
The Botanical Gardens at Rabaul	5
The arrival of Brigadier-General Johnston at Rabaul, 18th April,	n
Fort Raluana, commanding the entrance to Blanche Bay 34	
The wharf at Rabaul	•
A cutting on the North Coast road, New Britain 35	_
A cutting on the North Coast road, New Britain	3
LIST OF MAPS	
I The Western Pacific	4
2 The "Old Protectorate" division of German New Guinea 1	0
3 Malaysia and adjacent islands	8
4 New Britain	8
5 Rabaul and environs 4	5
6 The north-east part of the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain 5	
7 The advance towards Bitapaka, showing enemy dispositions	
at 9 am. on 11th September, 1914 6	0
8 Nauru Island	0

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CHRONOLOGY, 1914-1921

(Italic type indicates events dealt with in this volume.)

- 1914.
- June 28-Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria.
- July 28-Austria declares war on Serbia.
- Aug. 1-Germany declares war on Russia.
 - 2-German troops enter Luxemburg and France.
 - 3-Germany declares war on France.
 - 4—Germany invades and declares war on Belgium; Great Britain declares war on Germany.
 - 5-Austria declares war on Russia.
 - 10-Recruiting for A.I.F. opens.
 - 11-Enlistment for A.N. & M.E.F. begins.
 - 12—H.M.A.S. Sydney and destroyers raid Blanche Bay. H.M.S.
 Hampshire puts out of action wireless station at Yap.
 - 19-A.N. & M.E.F. leaves Sydney.
 - 23-Japan declares war on Germany. Japanese fleet blockades and bombards Tsingtao.
 - 24-A.N. & M.E.F. arrives at Palm Islands.
 - 30-New Zealand force occupies Samoa.
- Sept. 9-H.M.A.S. "Sydney" puts out of action wireless station at Nauru.
 - 10-German cruiser Emden first raids in the Bay of Bengal.
 - 11-A.N. & M.E.F. lands on New Britain.
 - 13-British flag hoisted at Rabaul.
 - 17—Terms of capitulation of German New Guinea signed.
 - 21-Surrender of German and native forces at Herbertshohe.
 - 22-Emden bombards Madras; German cruisers Scharnhorst and Gneisenau shell Papeete.
 - 24—A.N. & M.E.F. occupies Madang.
- Oct. 7-Japan occupies Marshall and Caroline Islands.
 - 11-German naval yacht "Komet" captured by A.N. & M.E.F.
 - 17-A.N. & M.E.F. occupies New Ireland.
- Nov. I-Battle of Coronel. First contingents of A.I.F. and N.Z.E.F. sail from Albany, Western Australia.
 - 6-A.N. & M.E.F. occupies Nauru.
 - 7-Japanese capture Tsingtao.
 - 8—German light cruiser Geier interned by United States of America at Honolulu.
 - 9-Emden destroyed by H.M.A.S. Sydney at Cocos Islands.
 - 19-A.N. & M.E.F. occupies Admiralty and Western Islands.
 - 28-Tropical Force leaves Sydney.

Dec. 8—Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and Leipzig sunk in the Battle of the Falkland Islands.

9-A.N. & M.E.F. occupies German Solomon Islands.

14—German auxiliary cruiser Cormoran interned by United States of America at Guam.

1015.

Jan. 8—Colonel Pethebridge takes over Administratorship of German New Guinea from Colonel Holmes.

9-A.N. & M.E.F. begins to leave New Guinea; relieved by Tropical Force.

Mar. 14—German cruiser *Dresden* sunk by British warships off Juan Fernandez.

Apr. 8—German auxiliary cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* interned by United States of America at Newport News.

1916.

Apr. 15—Branch of Commonwealth Bank of Australia opened at Rabaul.

1917.

Aug. 2-German raider Seeadler wrecked on Mopelia Island.

6—Australian passenger steamer "Matunga" captured by German raider "Wolf,"

1918.

Jan. 25-Death of Sir Samuel Pethebridge.

Feb. 24—German auxiliary cruiser Wolf returns to Germany.

Apr. 21—General Johnston assumes office as Administrator at Rabaul.

Nov. 11-Armistice signed with Germany.

1919.

Jan. 18-Peace Conference opens at Versailles.

June 28-Peace Treaty signed and published.

1920.

May 1—General Griffiths takes over from General Johnston as Administrator at Rabaul.

Sept. 1—Expropriation Ordinance for German New Guinea brought into force.

IQ21.

Apr. 5—General Wisdom takes over from General Griffiths.

6—Mandate for New Guinea received by the Commonwealth from League of Nations.

May 9-End of military occupation of German New Guinea.

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THE LANDING OF THE NAME, BRIGADE AT KABAKAUL ON THE LUIR OF SEPTEMBER, 1914 From a picture by Charles Broant Est in the Instraban II an Memorial collection

Frontispice.

CHAPTER I

GERMAN COLONIZATION IN THE PACIFIC— THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

GERMANY became a colonial power in the Pacific in 1884. While her diplomats in Berlin and London were still protesting to the British Foreign Office that she had no intention of annexing territory or exercising sovereign rights in New Guinea, her cruisers were hoisting the flag there and in the New Britain Archipelago. Bismarck was thus able to forestall any action which Great Britain might sooner or later have taken at the instance of the Australian colonies and New Zealand. Again and again these colonies urged on the Foreign Office the annexation of New Guinea, in order to prevent any other European power from establishing there a base of possibly hostile action. Again and again they had been met with the assurance that no European power contemplated such design, and that a declaration of suzerainty by Great Britain over New Guinea would be an unfriendly act to "a great friendly nation." In its solicitude for Germany's susceptibilities the Imperial Government had disavowed the prescient annexation by Queensland in 1883 of all the non-Dutch part of New Guinea and the adjacent islands. British statesmen. we know now, had their hands full of trouble in Egypt, and relations with France on the one hand and with Germany on the other were in a delicate condition. New Guinea lay far beyond the European horizon; international interest in colonial development was concentrated mainly upon the partition of Australian aspirations were, therefore, subordinated to the needs of the Empire in another sphere. There were two sides to the question; but to Australians, with their clear realisation of dangers knocking at their door, the lack of interest and the apparent supineness of the Foreign Office with regard to New Guinea appeared as a great betrayal. When, after the annexation by Queensland had been repudiated, Germany promptly took advantage of the blunder and hoisted her flag on the north coast of New Guinea and in the

¹ See The Problem of the Commonwealth, by Lionel Curtis, pp. 75-8

neighbouring archipelago, the Premier of Victoria (James Service) telegraphed to the Foreign Office on 24th December, 1884:—

"The exasperation here is boundless. We protest in the name of the present and future of Australia. If England does not yet save us from the danger and disgrace, as far at least as New Guinea is concerned, the bitterness of feeling towards her will not die out with this generation."

The hurried proclamation, in October and November, 1884, of a British protectorate over the south coast of New Guinea and over the D'Entrecasteaux and Louisiade groups did little to mollify and reassure the colonies.

Australia's distrust of her new neighbour was well-founded. Germany had acquired territorial interests in New Guinea by sharp practice, and knew that in Australian eyes she was a trespasser. It was obvious that her aim would be to strengthen and consolidate her position. Bismarck's reply to Australian indignation was, according to his biographer,2 "to deny the right of the Australians to apply the Monroe doctrine to their Polynesian neighbourhood." He conveniently overlooked the moral claims conferred by British explorations and declarations of annexation, and also the undertaking he had given to Britain that Germany would not exercise suzerainty Germany, moreover, endeavoured to over New Guinea. cover up the traces of Dampier, Carteret, and other British navigators and explorers by changing the geographical names given by them to the islands now under her dominion. the New Britain Archipelago, discovered and named by Dampier in 1700, was in 1885 given the name of Bismarck: New Britain itself became "Neu Pommern," New Ireland was rechristened "Neu Mecklenburg," and the Duke of York Islands "Neu Lauenburg." The German portion of the mainland of New Guinea was named "Kaiser Wilhelm's Land."

It was always suspected in Australia that Germany's real purpose in New Guinea was the building up of her naval power in the Pacific. New Guinea gave her a base within easy steaming distance of Australia. Her next requirement would be a strategic point from which she could strike at

^{*} Charles Lowe, Prince Bismarck, Vol. II. pp 237-8.

New Zealand. This object appeared to be attained when, in 1900, she succeeded in getting control of Samoa. Potential naval stations in the South Pacific were thus assured. In the meantime she had turned her attention to the North Pacific. She wrested Kiaochao from the effete Chinese Government in 1897, and established there at Tsingtao a naval headquarters In 1899 she purchased from Spain the Caroline, Marshall, Pelew, and Marianne Islands, which formed a useful connecting link between Kiaochao, New Guinea, and Samoa.

It was realised that, side by side with this suspected objective, there went the natural and long-suppressed ambition of Germany to take a major share in the trade and commercial life of the Pacific. It was not to be supposed that a great trading and industrial nation, such as she had now become. would acquiesce in being shut out of the markets of the East and of the South Seas. There was stirring in Germany the desire to become a great colonial power and to take her place in that respect beside Britain and France. As she had come late into this field, she had not the patience to await the slow natural growth and development of her colonies. She felt that she must make up for the lost years. Instead, therefore, of leaving her oversea possessions to go through a pioneer period of stress and experiment—the colonising method adopted by Great Britain-she sought to force their develop-She poured liberal subsidies into her African and Pacific possessions. She built imposing towns as the chief seats of administration. Dar-es-Salaam in German East Africa, and Rabaul in New Britain, are trim, well-planned towns with cool, white bungalows and tree-shaded streets. She subsidised steamship services and encouraged tropical agriculture. She enlisted the co-operation of great trading companies, and framed liberal land and economic legislation. The consequence was that her oversea possessions made remarkable progress during the decade immediately before the war. In Samoa the German Trading and Plantation Company not only secured a virtual trade monopoly in Upolu and Savaii, but extended its operations to the Tongan and adjacent groups, and almost killed British competition. New Guinea three large German trading companies built up

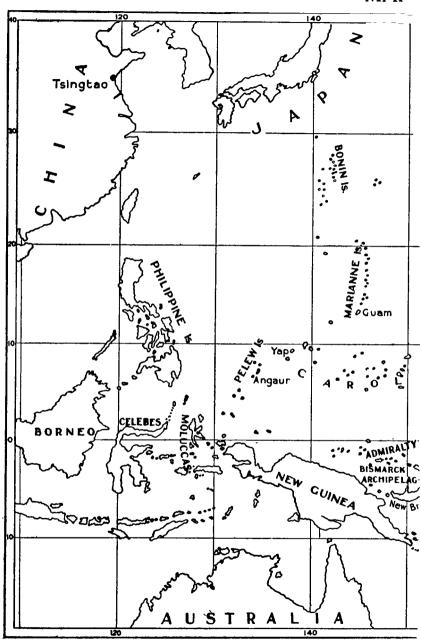
lucrative businesses, and, by financing the smaller planters and traders, lifted the Protectorate to a high pitch of commercial prosperity.

By the year 1914 Germany was an important factor in the trade of the Pacific. And always behind this commercial expansion there was suspected a primary aim—to increase her naval power in the Pacific. The German East Asiatic Squadron had been steadily strengthened. A well-equipped naval base had been established at Tsingtao, which had been fortified and garrisoned; coaling stations existed in the Caroline and Marshall groups, at Rabaul, and at Apia in the Samoan Islands.

At the commencement of the war, the German squadron in the Pacific comprised the cruisers Scharnhorst (the flagship of Rear-Admiral von Spee), Gneisenau, Emden, Leipzig, and Nürnberg, together with the small cruisers Cormoran and Geier. The Scharnhorst and Gneisenau were first-class armoured cruisers with 8.2-inch guns—heavier than those carried by any ship of the Royal Australian Navy except the battle-cruiser Australia. The flagship of the Australian fleet was armed with 12-inch guns, but the light cruisers Sydney, Melbourne, and Encounter mounted nothing heavier than 6-inch. The German squadron was therefore a formidable opponent. It had also a reputation for excellent gunnery.

Germany's strategic position in the Pacific was greatly strengthened by a chain of wireless stations erected for the purpose of placing Samoa, Nauru, New Guinea, and the Caroline Islands in communication with naval headquarters at Kiaochao. The erection of these stations brought Apia and Rabaul, outposts in the Pacific, into direct touch with Berlin. The instructions and policy of the Wilhelmstrasse could be communicated within a few hours to the governor of a protectorate in the remotest tropics. In the event of war the value of this chain of stations, working in conjunction with a naval squadron, was incalculable, but had not been realised by the Australian people. A few naval and military officers attached to the General Staff or Intelligence Branch. whose business it was to study these subjects, were aware that Germany had linked up her Pacific possessions with a system of wireless far more complete than the Australian:



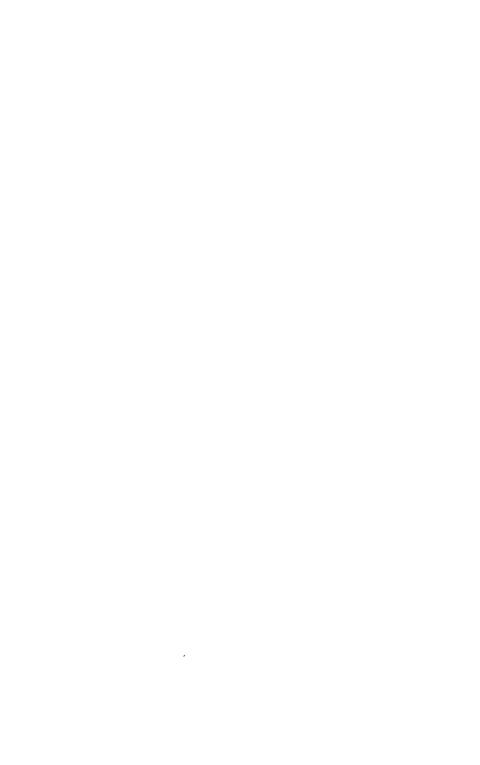


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PACIFIC OCEAN



among the general public the fact was unknown. Six persons out of ten, probably, had never even heard of Rabaul, and most of those who had were under the impression that it was situated on the mainland of New Guinea. Apia was known to most people by name; but few could have confidently indicated the position of Yap (in the Carolines), while about Nauru little was known except by those directly interested in superphosphates. Even to the naval and military authorities in Australia the situation of the wireless station in New Guinea was a secret. Their information led them to believe that it was at Rabaul or in the immediate vicinity. It was in fact thirty-one miles away, by road. Germany had been secretive in regard to both the existence and the strength of these stations. At Nauru, for example, before the outbreak of war only the low-power apparatus had been used in communicating with British ships or stations. Just before the commencement of hostilities a station believed to be Nauru (which had then no call-letters allotted to it) was heard by the wireless station at Melbourne, the calls coming clear and strong. The Melbourne operator asked if Nauru was signalling. An admission of the fact was obtained, but a request for information as to the power of the station was refused. Germany had done her constructional work unobtrusively and effectively: her official secrets had been well guarded.

When, therefore, on the 4th of August, 1914, the nations woke to war, the German possessions in the Pacific became at once factors of great strategic importance. A powerful German fleet was in that ocean; it had bases and coaling facilities at carefully selected points, with which it could com-As long as it remained in the Pacific municate by wireless. and could maintain communication with its bases in the islands. it was obvious that the position was one fraught with endless possibilities for Australia and New Zealand. It was inevitable that those countries should be involved in operations against the German possessions. The call came very quickly. Two days after Britain's declaration of war-on August 6th-the Secretary of State for the Colonies despatched to the Governor-General of Australia a cypher telegram from which the following is an extract:

"If your Ministers desire and feel themselves able to seize German wireless stations at Yap in Marshall

Islands, Nauru on Pleasant Island, and New Guinea, we should feel that this was a great and urgent Imperial service. You will, however, realise that any territory now occupied must be at the disposal of the Imperial Government for purposes of an ultimate settlement at conclusion of the war. Other Dominions are acting in similar way on the same understanding, in particular, suggestion is being made to New Zealand in regard to Samoa."

It is now known that this proposal, which came—at this stage—as a complete surprise to Australians, was the result of a recommendation by a sub-committee of the Committee Imperial Defence. The Commonwealth Government. though considering that the German squadron should be the first objective, decided to take immediate steps to raise and equip an expeditionary force to proceed to New Guinea. Operations against the wireless stations at Nauru and Yap were also planned. On August 10th a telegram was despatched by the Governor-General intimating that expeditionary force of 1,500 men was being organised by the Commonwealth Government for the action suggested, and that it would be despatched in a merchant cruiser carrying four 4.7 guns. The departure would be subject to reports from the rear-admiral commanding the Royal Australian Navy, and the Secretary of State would be informed later as to the date on which the force would leave Australia.

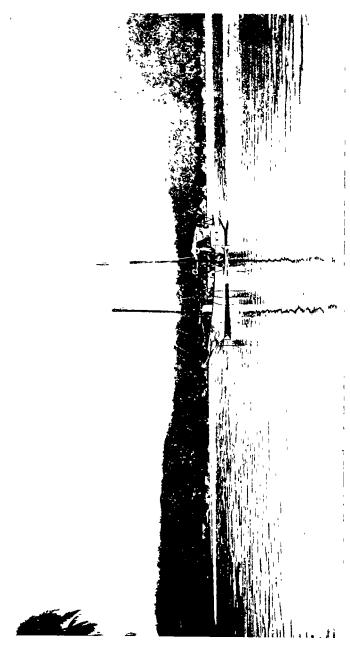
On August 18th a further telegram was sent to the Governor-General by the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

"In connection with the expedition against German possessions in Pacific, British flag should be hoisted in all territories occupied successfully by His Majesty's forces and suitable arrangements made for temporary adminis-No formal proclamation of annexation should however be made without previous communication with His Majesty's Government."

This restriction on the annexation of occupied territory was destined to have far-reaching consequences for Australia and New Guinea. But these things lay in the future; the present was brimming with action and big with fate.

^{*} Sic: Yap is in the Caroline Islands.

4 This is the official version. Another version gives "or" for "on".



RABAUL, ON SIMPSON HARBOUR, SHOWING A TYPICAL ISLAND SCHOONER

CHAPTER II

THE "OLD PROTECTORATE": DISCOVERY AND ANNEXATION

THE German possessions in the Pacific, against which action was thus contemplated, were collectively and officially known as the "Protectorate of German New Guinea" (Deutsch Neuguinea). The term conveys no idea of the sundered

geographical units included under it. The Protectorate consisted of two administrative divisions-the "Old Protectorate" and the "Island Territory." The Old Protectorate included the northeast portion of the mainland New Guinea (known German New Guinea). Bismarck Archipelago. Solomon and the German



Islands. The Island Territory consisted of scattered groups, lying north of the equator—the Marianne, Caroline, Pelew,

and Marshall Islands. Nauru, situated just south of the equator and 960 miles east of Rabaul, was for official purposes classed with the Marshalls. The seat of government for the whole Protectorate was Rabaul on Blanche Bay in New Britain.

New Guinea, the largest island in the world, is

island in the world, is divided, like a famous country of the classics, into three parts. Holland, as suzerain of the Sultan of Tidore, holds the western half, that is to say, the territory west of the 141st meridian, together with the adjacent islands. Germany in 1885 declared

a protectorate over a section lying along the north-eastern coast of New Guinea, east of the Dutch territory and separated from British territory along the south coast by an artificial boundary—8° S. lat. to its intersection with the 147th meridian, then a line running north-west to the intersection of 6° S. lat. with the 144th meridian, then one running west-north-west to the intersection of 5° S. lat. with the 141st meridian. It was supposed that such a boundary would correspond roughly with the central watershed of the island. The section south of the German boundary and east of the Dutch, including also the Trobriand, Woodlark, D'Entrecasteaux, and Louisiade groups—formerly known as British New Guinea—is now the Territory of Papua, belonging to and administered by the Commonwealth of Australia.

The area of the Old Protectorate is estimated at 92,000 square miles, of which the mainland of German New Guinea accounts for nearly 70,000. The delimitation of the British and German spheres was regulated by agreement between the Foreign Offices in 1885, the principle adopted being that of following as closely as possible the natural watershed and at the same time of dividing the territory into approximately equal areas. The exact line of the boundary was subsequently surveyed and determined by a joint commission, which completed its task just before the outbreak of war.

Kaiser Wilhelm's Land (to use its pre-war name for the mainland of German New Guinea) is very mountainous. Its salient physical feature is the succession of towering ranges which run parallel to the coast, rising steeply from a low-lying coastal plain to lift tier beyond tier against the clear skies. The approach to the New Guinea coast offers what is probably one of the finest views of impressive mountain scenery in the world, and the sight of the masses of folded ranges standing out in the brilliant sunlight is unforgettable. Taken in their order from the coast, the three great chains are the Finisterre, the Kratke, and the Bismarck Ranges. The first of these in places reaches a height of over 10,000 feet; it is thought that some of the peaks in the Krätke and Bismarck Ranges soar to more than 15,000, but they are as yet unexplored and vaguely known. The coast, which extends for about 750



HERBERTSHOHE (Koropo), (apital of the Protectorate refore the establishment of Rabaul

4nd H to Memorial Official Photo No 13ng+ Laken in 1919



miles from the Papuan boundary at Warsong Point to the Dutch boundary near Bougainville Bay, is fringed with coral reefs and a chain of islands, among which may be mentioned the Schouten group, the active island-volcano Manam, and Karkar or Dampier Island. Its long, curving line is broken in the south by Huon Gulf-formed by the projecting Rawlinson Range—and farther north by the long sweep of Astrolabe Bay. Between these two spacious indentations is the narrow inlet of Finsch Harbour, with its elusive entrance and safe anchorage. Here was situated the first seat of government in the days when the Protectorate was administered by the Neuguinea Compagnie (New Guinea Company) under a charter granted by the German Government. Finsch Harbour, however, proved an unhealthy site for a capital, and was abandoned in 1802, the seat of administration being transferred farther north to Stephansort in Astrolabe Bay. But the Company found by bitter experience—the lonely cemetery bears witness to it—that Stephansort was even more unhealthy than Finsch Harbour, and the capital was again removed to Friedrich Wilhelm Harbour, about twenty miles Friedrich Wilhelm Harbour, since the war to the north. known by its native name of Madang, is the finest harbour on the German coast. The town lies on the north shore of Schering Peninsula, which, jutting out into Astrolabe Bay, forms with its encircling islands a completely land-locked harbour of great beauty.

The mainland is traversed by huge rivers born of the great inland ranges. First in magnitude and fame is the Sepik (or Kaiserin Augusta) River whose only rival is the Fly River in western Papua. The Sepik pours its prodigal waters into the sea north-east of Broken Water Bay. Rising in a spur of the Victor Emanuel Range in the south-west, near the Papuan boundary and not far from the meeting-point of the British, Dutch, and German territories, it flows west, north, and east to the coast, draining wide valleys and rugged mountainous country, through hundreds of miles of a region where the rainfall is from 140 to 200 inches in the year. It hurries its eager waters along in a broad winding stream, often broken into whirling eddies in deep reaches where the river takes a sudden turn; but for about the last 500 miles

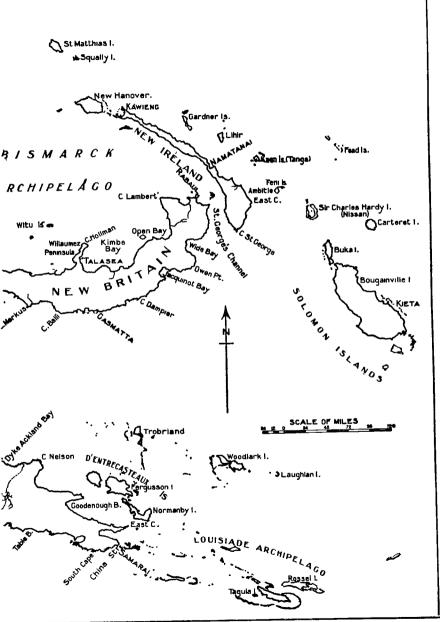
of its journey to the sea it maintains almost the same rate of flow, and an average depth of about six fathoms. entrance is about a mile wide; its channel is deep; and, as there is no bar, the approach presents no difficulties of navigation apart from those due to the strong current. northern side of the entrance-channel is a stretch of water rendered shallow by sediment brought down by the current: on the southern side a long sandy spit runs out from the shore. The banks near the mouth are low-lying and covered with sago-palms and bush; the lagoons and swamps in its lower course give place, about forty miles upstream, to parklike landscape and tree savannahs broken by wooded hills. From its upper reaches to a point about 100 miles from the sea it flows through dense forest and magnificent mountain scenery. In its lower course the river doubles and twists. as though reluctant to give its waters to the sea; a ship, after entering and threading her way against the strong current through reach after reach, may voyage 100 miles up and still be not far, as the crow flies, from the coast. But her presence and purpose are already known to all the riverain tribes. As she heads for the entrance, the garamuts or tom-toms of the beach-natives drum out the tidings to the nearest rivertribe: these in the same manner transmit the news to the next village, and so the message is carried over malarial sagoswamps, close-matted jungle, stark ravines, and rain-swept hills into the fastnesses of tribes who have never seen a white man. Some day the Sepik will be the gateway to fertile. To-day only an occasional recruiting cultivated valleys. schooner, mission ship, or government vessel visits these waters: otherwise the river canoes have the winding reaches to themselves, and the primitive native life knows little There clings about the Sepik the mystery of unknown and unguessed things—the secrets of its far hinterland, of its sullen, crocodile-haunted waters, of the tribes that dwell by its banks, practise strange rites, and hold dark beliefs.

About twelve miles south of the Sepik mouth another large river, the Ramu, flows into the sea. Between the two is a huge tract of swamp, drained by the Töpfer River. This, though it flows into the Sepik, is, near 5° S. lat., less





THE "OLD PROTECTORATE" DIVISION



than two miles from the Ramu, the watershed between the two great streams running not along a mountain range but through the swamp. Farther south the Markham flows into Huon Gulf. Although these fine streams seem to supply a natural means of access to the interior, the strength of their currents and repeated changes in their navigable channels seriously impede navigation, so that the country which they drain is as yet scarcely known beyond the coastal fringe.

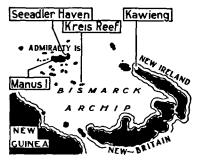
There are three administrative centres on the mainland—Madang (Friedrich Wilhelm Harbour) on Astrolabe Bay;

Eitape in the north-west, about eighty miles from the Dutch border, fronting an open roadstead called Berlin Harbour, where the surf runs heavily; and Morobe in the south on Adolf Haven, a picturesque inlet near the south-eastern boundary of Huon Gulf.



Eastward of the mainland lie the numerous islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, the largest being New Britain (Neu Pommern), New Ireland (Neu Mecklenburg), and Manus, the chief island in the Admiralty group. New Britain is a

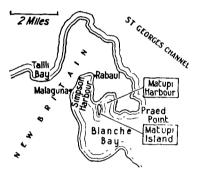
crescent-shaped island about 300 miles in length, with an average breadth of fifty miles and an area of approximately 13,000 square miles. It is of mountainous and volcanic formation, a backbone of ranges running east and west with an altitude of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet. The eastern end of the island,



at a point between Open Bay on the north coast and Wide Bay on the south, narrows to an isthmus about twenty-five miles across, and then spreads out again to north and east, resuming the average breadth of fifty miles. The area north of this isthmus, the Gazelle Peninsula, contains the deep and spacious harbour of Blanche Bay, whose inner basin, called "Simpson Harbour," is the best harbour in the Protectorate.

Blanche Bay looks like an enormous oval crater into which the sea has broken. On the north and east it is bounded by the Crater Peninsula; on the south and west the country is rugged, and westwards the view is bounded by the high Baining Mountains. Branching off Blanche Bay near its entrance is an inner bay, cut off from Simpson Harbour by Matupi Island, and known as "Matupi Harbour." At the north-eastern corner of Simpson Harbour is Rabaul, the

seat of government for the Protectorate (and now for the Mandated Territory), and eleven miles south-east, just outside the entrance to Blanche Bay, is Kokopo (formerly known as "Herbertshöhe"), which was the capital of the Protectorate before 1910. The growing importance of the Bismarck Archipelago—



several of the principal German companies having established their headquarters and occupied large plantations on Blanche Bay—led to the transfer of the seat of government from Friedrich Wilhelm Harbour to Herbertshöhe. But although Herbertshöhe became the most important commercial centre of the Protectorate, its roadstead, exposed to the sweep of the north-west monsoon, did not offer the shipping facilities possessed by the deep and sheltered Simpson Harbour. For the fifth time, therefore, in the history of the Territory the site of the capital was changed, and the town of Rabaul was founded and sprang at once into commercial as well as political importance.

Rabaul is destined to be a pivotal point in the Pacific. Its site is admirably chosen, and possesses many natural advantages; a ship may enter its deep and commodious harbour as safely by night as by day, and its position is

¹ See Vol XII. blate 8.

GOVERNMENT STATION, KAMIENG, NEW IRFLAND SHOWING THE WITHERBOUT ON NUSA. HARBOUR

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relatively central not only to the Territory itself but to the great commercial routes of the Pacific. It lies on the track of vessels between Australia and the East, and is favourably placed for trade either with the Dutch Indies or with outlying groups in the Pacific and with San Francisco. Germans set out to make Rabaul a capital worthy of their western Pacific possessions. The town was well laid out, the streets planted with avenues of shade-trees. and Government buildings, official residences, and commercial offices designed in a fine type of tropical architecture—airy and cool, with wide verandahs on every side. Special provision was made for distinct quarters for Europeans, Japanese, Chinese, Malays, and natives. Excellent facilities and accommodation were arranged for shipping.

Stretching in a great curve over the eastern end of New Britain, and separated from it by St. George's Channel, is the long and narrow island of New Ireland—the second largest in the Bismarck Archipelago, with an area of about

4,600 square miles. Like New Britain, it is mountainous, ranges in the south rising to over 6,000 feet; but it is of older formation, and shows no evidence of recent volcanic activity, though some of its coastal islands—especially Ambitle, in the Feni (Anir) group—contain hot springs and other signs of volcanic



origin. The commercial centre and seat of administration for its northern half, and for the neighbouring island of New Hanover (500 square miles in area), is Käwieng, charmingly situated on Nusa Harbour. The Government station for the southern half is at Namatanai. Almost due west of New Hanover lies the Admiralty group, of which Manus is the largest, with Lorengau, the Government station, situated on a spacious inlet called "Seeadler Harbour." North-west of the Admiralties are the Western Islands, comprising the Hermit, Ninigo, Anchorite. Commerson, and other groups. Of the numerous other islands dotted about the Bismarck Archipelago the best known are the Duke of York group,

between New Britain and New Ireland; Rooke Island (Umboi), in Dampier Strait; St. Matthias and Squally Islands, north-west of New Hanover; the Witu (or French group), west of New Britain; the Gardner (Tabar²), Lihir (Gerrit Denys), and Feni (Anir) groups, lying along the outer curve of New Ireland; and Nissan, the Fead, and the Carteret groups, north of Buka. The German Solomons are the two northern islands of the great chain of that name—Buka, 300 square miles in area, and Bougainville, which contains 3,500 square miles. The natives of Buka and Bougainville are much darker of skin than those of any other island in the Protectorate, and have social customs which appear to indicate the predominating infusion of another race. The centre of administration for the German Solomons is Kieta, on the east coast of Bougainville.

This "Old Protectorate" extends between 1 degree S. latitude and 8 degrees S. latitude, and between the 141st and 156th meridians. Its climate, therefore, is essentially tropical.

It is, however, equable; and the rainfall, although varying greatly in different parts, is plentiful and regular. The north-west monsoon begins about the end of November. and brings what is known as the "rainy season," which continues until March frequent April: there are and heavy thunder-storms downpours of rain, and the



weather is hot and oppressive. Towards the end of April the south-east monsoon sets in, and lasts until November; the days are then usually bright and clear, and the wind, though often boisterous, is generally a steady breeze which makes conditions more pleasant than in the rainy season.

The average annual rainfall for the Territory is from 100 to 115 inches. At Rabaul it is 83, and at Madang, on the New Guinea mainland seaward of the great ranges, it runs up to 150. The average maximum temperature at Rabaul is 80

³ Many islands in the Bismarck Archipelago have, owing to their discovery and re-discovery at different times, two and even three names.

degrees, the average minimum 71 degrees; to appreciate what this means in that latitude, it must also be remembered that the average solar radiation is 147 degrees, and the average humidity 69 degrees. Oppressive and enervating as such climatic conditions are, they are, nevertheless, more tolerable than those prevailing in countries that lie in a corresponding latitude north of the equator.

Though it is by right of conquest that the British flag now floats over what was German New Guinea, Great Britain had, by right of discovery and annexation, a claim to it prior to that of Germany. A review of the discovery and history of New Guinea shows that, of all European nations, Germany was the last to make any contribution to the world's knowledge of this part of the Pacific, and that she did not enter this field of exploration until the pioneering work had already been accomplished by others.

The existence of the great island of New Guinea was brought to the knowledge of the world through the rivalry of Spain and Portugal for the possession of the Moluccas, on Spice Islands. When these two nations claimed to divide the world between them, and the Bull of Alexander VI. in 1403 had declared that Spain owned the half that lay to the west and Portugal the half to the east of a line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores, there arose the question—on which side did the Spice Islands lie? Their ownership meant the most coveted monopoly of the age and commercial supremacy in The claim of each nation to the Moluccas was. therefore, strongly asserted, and every effort was made to strengthen a political claim by the fact of actual possession and occupation. The Portuguese, following in the wake of Bartholomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama, sought the Spice Islands round the Cape and from India and Malacca; the Spaniards by voyaging across the Pacific. New Guinea lay directly on the route from America to the Moluccas, and its discovery was therefore an inevitable consequence of the competition. In 1526 the Spaniards were at Tidore, in the Moluccas, and the Portuguese at Ternate, within sight of In that year a Portuguese, Jorge de Meneses. their rivals. was despatched from Malacca to take charge of the Moluccas. The usual route lay south of Borneo and the Celebes; but

Meneses shaped a course round the north of Borneo and Gilolo, was driven by the north-west monsoon far past his destination, and sighted a land inhabited by a dark race called "Papuas," a name given to them by the natives of the Moluccas on account of their woolly hair. He landed to refit his ship at an island on the equator called by him "Versija," and stayed there until the south-east monsoon arrived to help him back to Ternate. It is supposed that his anchorage was near the headland now called "Cape of Good Hope," on the extreme northern point of New Guinea. He did not realise that he had discovered the largest island in the world.

In 1528 the famous conqueror of Mexico, Hernan Cortes, fitted out an expedition under the command of his kinsman, Alvaro de Saavedra, to reinforce the Spaniards at the Spice Islands. On his return voyage from Tidore (which, just about this time, the King of Spain sold to Portugal) Saavedra coasted along the whole northern shore of New Guinea, which, because he saw traces of gold along the beaches, he called the "Island of Gold"—Isla del Oro. In 1529, while on a second voyage (during which he died), Saavedra again came within sight of its dark, bold coasts.

Seven years later, during Pizarro's struggle with the Incas of Peru. Cortes sent to his assistance from Mexico two vessels under Hernanda de Grijalva and Alvarado. After landing the troops at Fort Payta, Grijalva in 1537 sailed across the Pacific, and is recorded to have cruised along the northern shores of New Guinea, touching at the inlet now known as "Geelvink Bay." His crew demanded that he should break the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas by crossing the Portuguese line and making for the Moluccas; on his refusing to do so, the crew mutinied and murdered him. The ship was shortly afterwards wrecked on the north coast of New Guinea. and the survivors were taken prisoners by the natives. the fine honour of the captain whom they had murdered had its due recompense; the castaways were generously ransomed and released by the Portuguese governor of Ternate, Antonio Galvão, author of Discoveries of the World.

Mexico was the point of departure for another expedition that is noteworthy in the story of New Guinea. At the end of 1542 Ruy Lopez de Villabos, sailing from the west coast of



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ST GFORGE'S CHANNEL AND BLANCHE BAY

Rabaul lies near the right centre of the picture, behind the lower hill (Old Crater). The three higher prominences are North Daughter (1,768 feet), Mount kombin (The Mother, 2,247 feet), and South Daughter (1,621 feet).

Aust War Memonal Official Photos Nos J2081-2 Taken in 1919

Mexico, took possession of Mindanao, in the Philippine Islands. He then sailed to Tidore, whence in May, 1545, he ordered one of his ships, the San Juan, to return to Mexico, under the command of Inigo Ortiz de Retes. The San Juan sailed along the north coast of New Guinea, and it was Retes who gave the island its present name. Thus the "Papua" of Meneses and the "Island of Gold" of Saavedra was thenceforth known as "New Guinea," because the black and woolly-haired people reminded Retes of the negroes he had seen on the Guinea coast of Africa. The journals of his voyage have been lost, but it is known that he anchored at several places on the coast and took in wood and water.

Thus by the end of the sixteenth century the northern coast of New Guinea had been discovered. What lay behind the gleaming beaches and the frowning forests was unknown, but it was vaguely conjectured to be part of a great southern continent, to explore which a Spanish expedition—led by Ouiros, with Luis Vaez de Torres as his second-in-commandsailed from Callao in December, 1605. It reached an island in the New Hebrides which Quiros named "Austrialia del Espiritu Santo," believing it to be part of the continent of his quest. Quiros went back to America; Torres, discovering that the new find was merely another island, held on westwards. and in July, 1606, sighted land which he rightly assumed to be the eastern extremity of New Guinea. He surveyed the large bay which Admiral Moresby afterwards named "Milne Bay," bore south among the islands of the Louisiade Archipelago, and followed the south coast of New Guinea until he passed through the strait that now bears his name.

With the opening of the seventeenth century came the Dutch. The first Dutch expedition to New Guinea was despatched from Bantam in 1606. The leader, Willem Jansz, in the Duyfken, visited the Aru and Kei Islands, sailed along the west and south coasts of New Guinea, and thence across the western end of Torres Straits to the gulf afterwards called "Carpentaria." His voyage was duplicated and extended in 1623 by Carstenz in the Pera. In the interim two intrepid and much-enduring sailors, Schouten and Le Maire, in 1616-17 rounded Cape Horn, cut across the Pacific between Samoa and Fiji to the coast of New Ireland, and then ran south-west

to New Guinea, where a group of islands is named after Schouten. Their reports make mention of the large number of active volcanoes which they sighted in those regions.

In the dawn of the eighteenth century the topsails of an English ship lift above the horizon, and for the first time the English flag floats under New Guinea skies. On New Year's Day, 1700, the famous buccaneer and explorer, William Dampier, sighted the island. He had sailed from England in 1600 in H.M.S. Roebuck, commissioned by the Admiralty for a voyage of discovery. Dampier rounded the eastern end of a dark-wooded mass of high land, which he found to be separated from the mainland of New Guinea by a broad strait This large island he named "New Britain," and the passage through which he took the Rocbuck is now known as "Dampier Strait." Rooke Island, dividing this passage from Vitiaz Strait, was named by Dampier after the English admiral who captured Gibraltar. He also gave names to many of the headlands round the coasts of New Britain. His own fame is further perpetuated in Dampier Island (Karkar), which lies off the New Guinea coast north of Madang.

Carteret was the next Englishman to come into these waters. Like Dampier, he was sent out by the Admiralty on a special voyage of exploration. He sailed round the world in 1766-67 in the Swallow, and, in the course of his long voyaging, followed up Dampier's route round New Britain. There he discovered that the far-stretching, mountainous land lying to the north of New Britain, and thought by Dampier to be part of it, was in fact a separate island. He named it "New Ireland," and called the channel dividing the two islands "St. George's Channel." The place at which he landed on the New Ireland coast-nearly opposite Blanche Bay and Rabaul—was afterwards known as "English Cove." There, it is recorded, "having taken in wood and water and repaired the ship in the best manner they were able, the captain took possession of the country, with all the neighbouring islands. for the King of Great Britain. This was done by nailing on a lofty tree a piece of board, faced with lead, on which was engraved the name of the vessel and of the captain, the time of entering and leaving the harbour, and a representation of the Union flag of England." This act of Carteret's was-like

MALAYSIA AND ADJACENT ISLANDS

many similar acts performed by British navigators in the New Guinea region—not confirmed, but it gives to Carteret a special place in the annals of the Western Pacific.

In 1770 James Cook made a valuable survey of Torres Straits and sailed along the south coast of New Guinea, landing on what is now Dutch territory, where he found the natives far from friendly. In 1792 William Bligh (of Bounty fame), in H.M.S. Providence, sailing past Darnley Island in Torres Straits, sent off his second lieutenant with instructions to land on a small island which he indicated, and to take possession of it and all others seen in the straits for His Britannic Majesty King George III. In 1793 the East India Company, anxious to interfere with the Dutch trade in spices, sent two of their ships, the Cornwallis and Hormuyer, under Captains Bampton and Alt, to explore New Guinea and report on the possibilities of trade. Sighting the island in the vicinity of the Fly River, Bampton cruised east along the Gulf of Papua in the hope of finding a passage to the northward between the mainland and the Louisiades. Before passing out of the gulf, however, he headed westward again and returned to Darnley Island, where, on the 10th of July, 1793, he hoisted the British flag and "took possession of this and the neighbouring islands and the coast of New Guinea in the name of His Majesty." Later in the same year Bampton and Alt hoisted the flag on Manaswari Island, in Geelvink Bay (now in Dutch New Guinea), and for a few months occupied it with British troops.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century French navigators began to play an important part in and around New Guinea. In 1769 Bougainville reached the south coast of Papua at Orangerie Bay, and thence, after traversing 500 miles of sea, passed through the strait that now bears his name, and explored the coast-line of the two northernmost Solomons (Bougainville and Buka). D'Entrecasteaux, in the course of his search for Lapérouse, sailed along the south-eastern end of New Guinea and in 1793 surveyed the coasts of Normanby, Fergusson, and Goodenough Islands in the group now called after him. In 1827 a French expedition under Dumont D'Urville, in the Astrolabe, made a running survey of the north-east coast of New Guinea; Astrolabe Bay, Cape D'Urville, and Humboldt Bay recall this

British explorers again came into Then expedition. In 1842 the southern coast of eastern New prominence. Guinea was surveyed by Captain Blackwood in H.M.S. Fly. The same expedition also carried out detailed surveys along the Fly River. Lieutenant Yule, in the Bramble, continued the survey down to Cape Possession, where in 1846 he took formal possession of this coast for the British Crown. Captain Owen Stanley, in the Rattlesnake, during 1849, completed the examination of the Louisiade Archipelago and the southeastern end of New Guinea, and named some peaks in the remarkable range of mountains that is there visible from the sea. Some of these exceed 11,000 feet; Mount Albert Edward, the highest, being 13,250 feet. His work was completed in 1873 by Captain (afterwards Admiral) Moresby in H.M.S. Basilisk. He fixed the true outline of the mainland in this quarter, and made a survey of the large inlet. Milne Bay, that Torres had discovered in 1606. He also determined the true position of the D'Entrecasteaux group, discovered several new harbours, such as Port Moresby and Hall Sound, and gave its name to China Strait. Then, passing up the east coast, he surveyed from East Cape to Astrolabe Bay.

During the next few years active surveying was conducted by expeditions initiated by the Admiralty and others for the purpose of inquiring into the natural resources of the country and obtaining scientific and ethnological data. Among these may be mentioned Moresby's expedition in 1874 in H.M.S. Alacrity, and those of the Challenger under Nares in 1875, of Lieutenant Bower in H.M.S. Danae and Lieutenant Richards in H.M.S. Renard in 1879, of Lieutenant Oldham in H.M.S. Lark in 1882-84, and of Lieutenant Field in H.M.S. Dart in 1885.

In 1872 Captain Simpson, in H.M.S. Blanche, discovered Blanche Bay and dropped anchor in Simpson Harbour—the Simpsonhafen on which Rabaul afterwards sprang into existence.

It will thus be seen that, up to the time when Germany, in 1885, declared her protectorate, British explorers had not only done the chief work in the tracing and survey of the New Guinea coasts, but in several instances had taken formal possession of this part of the territory. The only German

explorers whose work entitles them to any measure of prominence are Finsch—who sailed from Sydney in the Samoa in 1884 and made five voyages along part of the New Guinea coast, discovering Madang and Finsch Harbour—and von Schleinitz, of the Gazelle, who, between the years 1875 and 1887, explored the coast of the mainland from Fortification Point to the Sepik River, as well as the Purdy group and other islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. It is from his ship that the Gazelle Peninsula derives its name.

Apart from the formal annexations of various islands and portions of New Guinea by Carteret in 1767, Bampton and of April, 1873, taking possession, in the Queen's name, of Alt in 1793, and Yuie in 1846, we find Moresby, on the 4th the large islands east of the mainland. On the 4th of April, 1883, Chester (then Resident Magistrate at Thursday Island), acting under instructions from the Queensland Government, hoisted the British flag at Port Moresby, thereby annexing, "in the name of the Queen, all that part of New Guinea and the adjacent islands thereto from the 141st to the 155th meridian." But this action, although supported by the Australian colonies and New Zealand, was not endorsed by the British Government. Commodore Erskine, in H.M.S. Nelson on the 6th of November, 1884, proclaimed a British protectorate over the south coast of New Guinea and adjacent islands, notwithstanding the fact that some weeks previously this had been done by Commissioner Romilly. There was, apparently, a misunderstanding in the matter.

In 1864, 1874, 1878, and 1879 New South Wales, with the co-operation of Queensland, had strongly urged that possession should be taken of the north-east coast of New Guinea, but the Imperial Government refused its consent. German merchants interested in New Guinea advised their Government to annex; in 1883, as we have seen, Queensland anticipated her by annexing that part of New Guinea not belonging to the Dutch. In the same year an Intercolonial Conference, consisting of representatives of the Australian colonies and New Zealand, ineffectually demanded the annexation. and undertook to pay the expenses administration. In the middle of 1884 four German gunboatsthe Hyane, Elizabeth, Marie, and Albatros—appeared in New

On November 3rd of that year the German Guinea waters. flag was hoisted at Matupi, in New Britain; on the following day at Mioko, in the Duke of York group; on November 12th at Madang; on November 27th at Finsch Harbour. On the 19th of December, 1884, Germany officially notified the British Government of these actions. In October, 1886, the German cruiser Adler took possession of Ysabel, Choiseul, Bougainville, and Buka, in the Solomon Islands and under the terms of the Anglo-German Agreement of 1880 the two northernmost islands (Buka and Bougainville) were retained by Germany. On the 17th of May, 1885, the German Emperor granted an Imperial charter to the New Guinea Company to occupy, as "Kaiser Wilhelm's Land," that portion of New Guinea not under British or Dutch suzerainty, together with the Bismarck Archipelago; subject to the maintenance of the political institutions agreed upon, as well as to the payment of the expenses of administration, the Company was to exercise the corresponding rights of sovereignty. 13th of November, 1886, this charter was extended so as to include the German possessions in the Solomon Islands.



COLONEL WILLIAM HOLMI'S, COMMANDER OF THE A.N. & M.E.F., AND FIRST MILITARY ADMINISTRATOR OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA

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CHAPTER III

THE DESPATCH OF THE AUSTRALIAN NAVAL AND MILITARY EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

The decision having been made that an expeditionary force should be raised for service in the Pacific, the Commonwealth Government's next step was to call it into being. The very purpose for which it was primarily required—the destruction of German wireless stations—implied that the force must be promptly organised and despatched with the least possible delay. It was an affair of days. Australia had already promised a force of 20,000 for service outside Australia, to be at the complete disposal of the British Government and to be ready for embarkation within six weeks. The Defence Department was therefore already busy about the heavy task of creating and organising the Australian Imperial Force. During the same crowded days the smaller expeditionary force must be raised and despatched.

Time was all-important, for already on August 8th cabled messages from London were urging that Australia should take speedy action against the German colonies. In three days (i.e., by August 10th) a scheme was evolved in definite detail by the General Staff. Colonel J. G. Legge, the new Chief of the General Staff, who had returned from England on August 8th, made the organisation of the islands force one of his first objects, and pushed it forward with swift efficiency. was decided to send a combination of naval and military units, to be known as the "Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force "-six companies of the Royal Australian Naval Reserve, a battalion of infantry at war strength (1,023 strong), two machine-gun sections, a signalling section, and a detachment of the Australian Army Medical Corps. The naval reservists were drawn from Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia; but, in view of the imperious necessity for rapid organisation, the infantry battalion, the machine-gun and signalling sections, and the medical complement were enlisted in New South Wales.

¹ The task of organising the larger force—the A.I.F.—had been given to the Inspector-General, Brig.-Gen. W. T. Bridges. Colonel Legge (later Major-General) in 1915 organized in Egypt the 2nd Aust. Div., which he afterwards commanded in Gallipoli and France.

The selection of an officer to command the expeditionary force had to be made by Colonel Legge. It was felt that this command should go to an officer possessing special qualifications and previous experience of active service. The work for which the force was intended was of great importance, and it was imperative that the officer selected should have the full confidence of the Commonwealth Government.

The man on whom fell the choice for the command of this force, Colonel William Holmes.2 was the son of a British Army officer. He had military ambitions in his blood. Gratifying his bent for soldiering, he joined the volunteer forces of his native colony at an early age, and threw his characteristic energy and enthusiasm into drills, camps, and training. His opportunity came with the South African War. When in 1800 the first contingent sailed from New South Wales. Holmes went with it as a lieutenant. Before the war was over he had been wounded, mentioned in despatches, awarded the D.S.O., and promoted to be Brevet-Lieutenant-The South African campaigns taught him the importance of attention to detail, the value of initiative, and the influence of personal conduct and efficiency; he returned to Australia with a record of good service, and a reputation for personal bravery, ability, and capacity for command.

When the Defence Act of 1903 created a Commonwealth army, Holmes identified himself keenly with the work of organisation, gained a high reputation in command of a regiment, and at the outbreak of the war was commanding the 6th Infantry Brigade. In private life he was secretary of the Sydney Water and Sewerage Board. His part in defence work was, therefore, the occupation of spare time, not his life's career. Still, though no specialist in the military art, he already possessed a sound knowledge of military routine, and few militia officers in Australia were better versed in infantry training; afterwards in France he was to reveal rare qualities as the commander of an Australian division. He had a keen, practical brain, a quick grasp of essentials, a knowledge of men, and a capacity for organisation and administration. Holmes's men were never known to "go back" on their leader.

² Maj.-Gen. W. Holmes, C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D. Commanded A.N. and M.E.F., 1914/15; 5th Inf. Bde., 1915/16; 4th Div., 1916/17; b. Sydney, 12 Sept., 1862 Killed in action in Flanders, 2 July, 1917.

When he was leaving New Guinea, almost the whole of his force, though willing to remain there under his command, expressed the wish to return with him to Australia; and many of them went with him to Gallipoli and France.

On August 10th Legge telephoned from Melbourne offering this appointment to Holmes, who accepted promptly. His first step was to nominate an officer as his brigade-major, and another for the command of the battalion of infantry. For the latter his choice was Lieutenant-Colonel Russell Watson8a felicitous selection. Watson had in the South African War proved himself a good soldier. His genial personality made him popular with officers and men, and he had the faculty of enforcing discipline and getting things done without appearing to assert his authority. In his hands the infantry rapidly shaped itself into a contented and efficient unit. As brigademajor, Holmes chose the Commandant of the Commonwealth School of Musketry at Randwick, Major Heritage,4 whose experience, ability, and tact were likely to be of value. Captain Travers⁵ of the Australian Intelligence Corps. Holmes's son-in-law, was made staff-captain and intelligence officer. For the position of Principal Medical Officer, Holmes secured Lieutenant-Colonel Howse,6 who had gained a high professional reputation in the South African War, and had won the Victoria Cross for gallant rescue work under heavy fire.7

Enlistment for the expeditionary force began on the day following Holmes's appointment. There was a ready response

² Col. W. W. Russell Watson, C.B., C.M.G., V.D. Commanded 24th Bn., 1915/17; Overseas Training Bde., 1917/19. Company director; of Balmain, N.S.W.; b. Sydney, 19 May, 1875. Died, 30 June, 1924.

^{*}Brigadier F. B. Heritage, C.B.E., M.V.O. Commanded Aust. Corps School, 1917/18; Commandant, Royal Military College of Aust., 1922/29, 1931/32; Commandant 2nd Military District, 1929/32; Q.M.G., 1933/34; b. River Don, Tas., 21 Sept., 1877. Died, 9 July, 1934.

^{*}Lieut. Col. R. J. A. Travers, D.S.O. Commanded 26th Bn., A.I.F., 1916/18. Draughtsman; of Bondi, N.S.W.; b. Glen Innes, N.S.W., 21 Apr., 1888.

*Maj. Gen. Hon. Sir Neville R. Howse, V.C., K.C. B., K.C.M.G. D.M.S., A.I.F., 1915/19. Minister for Defence, 1925/27, Health, 1925/27, 1928/29, Home and Territories, 1928. Repatriation, 1928/29; of Orange, N.S.W.; b. Stogursey, Somerset, Eng., 26 Oct., 1863. Died., 19 Sept., 1930.

†The brigade staff was completed by the appointment of Lieut. B. Holmes (of Sydney) as orderly officer. For the regimental staff Major J. Paton (of Newcastle, N.S.W., a colonel in the A.M.F.) was selected as second-in-command under Lieut. Col. Watson, Capt. C. H. D. Lane (of Bondi, N.S.W.) as adjutant, Capt. S. P. Goodsell (of Parramatta, N.S.W.) as quartermaster, and Lieut. K. Heritage (of Launceston and Strahan, Tas.) as transport officer. The two machine-gun sections were respectively commanded by Capt. J. L. Harcus and Lieut. T. R. Marsden, In charge of the signalling section was Lieut. R. M. Sadler (of Hurstville, N.S.W.). The A.A.M.C. detachment was composed of Capts. F. A. Maguire (of Sydney), J. E. Donaldson (of Sydney), and B. C. A. Pockley.

to the call for volunteers: two battalions of intantry could have been recruited from the men who offered their services within the first few days. This, the first force to be sent oversea from Australia in this war, exhibited in its composition the remarkable diversity of types that also characterised Almost every vocation was represented: school teacher and wharf labourer, bank clerk and bushman, shop assistant and farrier, stood side by side on the parade-ground, waiting for the medical examination. There were those who. drifting without moorings in the ebb and flow of city life. clutched at this chance of a new career; some were lured by a spirit of sheer adventure; others, putting material interests and family ties behind, answered simply to the call of duty. It was serviceable material; there were men who could turn their hand to everything, and there were men who had special technical or professional qualifications and experience. When, at a later stage, it became necessary to carry on the administration of German New Guinea, it was found that from the members of this force every position, whether administrative, technical, or industrial, could be competently filled.

The men assembled in large numbers at Victoria Barracks in Sydney, and were marched to the Agricultural Show Ground near by, where they were medically examined and enrolled.8 They were sworn in, at first, on an improvised attestation form, differing from that used in the Commonwealth Military Forces only in the fact that they undertook to serve in His Majesty's forces anywhere, on land or at sea, for an unlimited period. On the day before the force left Australia, instructions from headquarters in Melbourne required that the men should be re-sworn on a new attestation form, which had been prepared to meet the case of service outside Australia in the A.I.F. This form required more detailed personal information than had hitherto been recorded, and ran into four pages of particulars; the period of service, too, instead of being indefinite, was stated as six months. After being attested, the men were posted to companies in charge of officers acting temporarily; as the work proceeded, and candidates' abilities could be tested, permanent officers were appointed to the various companies, which were known as "A" to "H."

⁸ Writing on 17 Aug., 1914, Holmes acknowledged the voluntary services rendered by dentists to 600 of his men within the last few days.

Mfr of the 1st Battalion, A N & M E F, at the agricultural show-grounds, Randwick (N S W.), August 1014

Photo by The Sydney Mad"



Of the infantry enlisted comparatively few belonged to existing units of the Commonwealth Military Forces. The rest were without uniform or equipment. The force, therefore, while being sworn in and organised, had at the same time to be clothed, armed, and equipped. Yet by August 14th the infantry was, but for a few recruits, ready to go abroad, and the whole force was embarked by noon on August 18th. The six companies of the Royal Australian Naval Reserve. drawn (as said above) from Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, were also successfully organised, equipped, and concentrated in Sydney within a week by the Navy Office. The different units had never met until they found themselves together in the transport; even members of the staff were in some cases unknown to each other. A large proportion of the men had had no previous sea-going experience, and many of the officers were young and new to their work.

The "merchant cruiser carrying four 4.7 guns" to which reference was made in the cablegram of August 10th was the Peninsular and Oriental branch liner Berrima, which had been chartered by the Commonwealth Government as a transport and then commissioned as an auxiliary cruiser. While the various units were being enrolled, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, she was being fitted up as a troopship at Cockatoo Island in Port Jackson. In spite of her 11,000 tons, she was none too large for the requirements of the force; but she had comfortable sea-going qualities and that speed which is desirable for the purposes of a convoy. Although the ship was always officially known by her proper name, she had when first chartered acquired a semi-official designation as T 1 (Transport 1), and some of her fittings and equipment were so marked.

In charge of the *Berrima* was Commander Stevenson,¹⁰ an officer who had received his training in the Royal Navy and had afterwards joined the Australian service. In command

^{*}Long after the Berrima had steamed away from New Britain, a fast launch bearing the name T1 used to make trips between Rabaul and Herbertshöhe. This launch had been taken back to Australia in the Berrima, but had been brought again to Rabaul to become the Administrator's official launch.

There were many who puzzled over the name, not knowing that the T1 was a relic of the first Australian transport.

Australian transport.

Rear-Admiral J. B. Stevenson, C.M.G.; R.N. (later R.A.N.); b. Liverpool, Eng., 7 Aug., 1876.

of the naval unit was Commander Beresford11 of the Royal Australian Navy, an officer whose health the New Guinea climate undermined almost from the beginning. battalion staff were Lieutenant-Commanders Browne¹² and The senior company officer was Lieutenant-Commander Lambton,14 and Lieutenant Bracegirdle15 was also on the naval staff.

Embarkation was carried out during August 18th, seven days after the first infantryman had been enrolled. Along the route by which it marched from the Agricultural Ground through the Sydney streets, the battalion was cheered by a warm-hearted people, for whom the sight of departing contingents was soon to become a common experience.¹⁶ The naval and other units were embarked on the same day. Shortly after noon on August 19th the Berrima, flying the white ensign, pulled out from Farm Cove and, followed by cheers of farewell, made for the Heads.

The destination of the expedition had not been announced. and was known to few outside a small official circle. force had been enlisted for "service abroad"; the prevailing opinion was that the German possessions in the western Pacific were to be attacked, but speculation as to possible spheres of action was one of the few diversions in which members of the force and their friends had hitherto been The course set by the Berrima was therefore able to indulge. watched with interest, and when she left North Head on the port beam and proceeded on a northerly course along the coast, the objective was evident to all.

Two days afterwards the Berrima rounded the long island that guards the southern side of Moreton Bay, and dropped anchor in that wide, shallow inlet. On the run up the coast from Sydney an examination of the stores had revealed the fact that signalling equipment and mess-tins had not been sent None could be obtained in Brisbane. aboard. Colonel Holmes was subsequently informed that the signalling

¹¹ Commr. J. A. H. Beresford; R.A.N. Of Melbourne; b. Laugharne, Wales, 11 Aug., 1861.

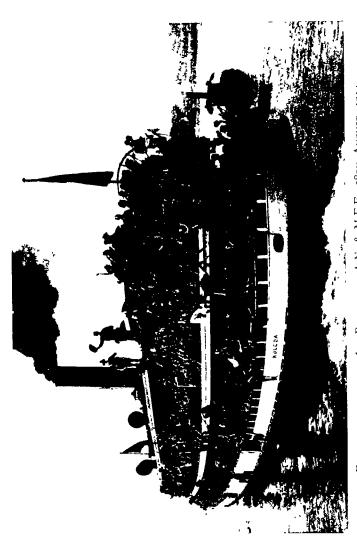
12 Commr. G. L. Browne; R.N.; b. Clewer, near Windsor, Eng., 1 Apr., 1882.

13 Lieut. Commr. C. B. Elwell; R.N. Of Wentworthville, N.S.W.; b. Albrighton, Shropshire, Eng., 13 Sept., 1882. Killed in action, 11 Sept., 1914.

14 Commr. R. S. Lambton, V.D.; R.A.N.R. Solicitor; of Sydney; b. Glebe, N.S.W., 2 Dec., 1804. Died, 10 Sept., 1926.

15 Capt. L. S. Bracegirdle, D.S.O.; R.A.N. Commanded R.A.N.B.T., 1915/17.

Of Sydney; b. Balmain, N.S.W., 31 May, 1881.



The ferry-steamer leaving Fort Macquarte, Sydney, for Cockatoo Island (see also Fol AII), plate 7) EMEARKATION OF THE 1ST BATTALION, AN & MEF, 18TH AUGUST, 1914

Photo by The Sydner Mail!

equipment would be sent on in the supply-ship Aorangi; there were no mess-tins in stock, so the troops cheerfully managed with pannikins and tin plates.

From Moreton Bay the Berrima steamed along the Queensland coast. Off the low spit of Sandy Cape she was met by the light cruiser Sydney, and the ships proceeded in company to Palm Island, which lies north of Townsville inside the Great Barrier Reef. The cruiser Encounter was already there when on August 24th the Berrima made the islands. The same rendezvous had been appointed for the supply-ship Aorangi, the submarine tenders Protector and Upolu, and the submarines AE 1 and AE 2. It had at first been intended that the Berrima should be escorted by the Sydney and Encounter to Port Moresby, where she would be joined by the s.s. Kanowna with a contingent of 500 volunteers from the Kennedy Regiment—the citizen force battalion raised in northern Queensland. But Rear-Admiral Patey,¹⁷ when he found himself called upon to escort the New Zealand expedition to Samoa, ordered the destroyers from Rossel Island to Port Moresby, and gave particular instructions that the Berrima should not be brought north of Palm Island until he returned from Samoa. This meant that the expeditionary force was "hung up" for an indefinite period. Delay at this stage was peculiarly irksome to those charged with the performance of an urgent mission. It was also extremely trying for the troops, restricted as they were day after day to the same surroundings after the sense of movement, the high spirits, and the keen expectations which filled the first days of the voyage. The men were in no mood for anything except the enterprise on which they had set out. Still, they were far from being idle. From the time the Berrima left Sydney the naval and military units were drilled and kept employed as thoroughly as the limited space on board would permit. During the stay at Palm Island they were taken ashore nearly every day, across a shingle beach to rocky ground and bush—a terrain ill-suited to manœuvres: but it taught them how to maintain touch in thickly-wooded country, and the lesson afterwards proved invaluable in the dense jungles of New Britain. A short rifle-range was

¹⁷ Admiral Sir George E. Patey K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., R.N. Commander-in-Chief Royal Australian Fleet, 1913/15, North America and West Indies Station 1915/16, b. Montpellier House, near Plymouth, Eng., 24 Feb., 1859. Died, 5 Feb., 1935.

established, and the men received careful instruction in musketry. The daily landing had also the advantage of giving the naval reservists constant practice in boat-work and the landing of troops.

On August 30th Captain Glossop¹⁸ of H.M.A.S. Sydney received wireless instructions from the rear-admiral that the

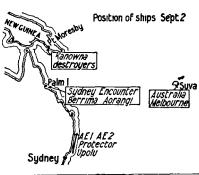
Sydney, with all her companions and convoy, was to be at a rendezvous east of the Louisiade group by 7 a m. 19 on September 9th. The Upolu and the submarines should accompany him, if they had joined up, and if fuel were available. The Sydney and Encounter were to extemporise mine-sweeping apparatus, and all ships were to be coaled and oiled either at Port Moresby or at the rendezvous near Rossel Lagoon. Glessop was



also instructed to arrange for the transfer of fifty men of the naval unit to the *Sydney*, and to consult with Colonel Holmes as to the forces required for garrisoning Rabaul and Herbertshöhe and occupying Angaur, Yap, and Nauru.

In accordance with these orders the Sydney, Encounter, Berrima, and Aorangi sailed from Palm Island on September

and and proceeded to Port Moresby to complete there with coal and oil and to collect the other ships of the convoy. Two days later the *Upolu*, the *Protector*, and the submarines *AE I* and *AE 2* left Townsville for the rendezvous. But a defect in the *Upolu's* condensers reduced her speed to six knots; she and



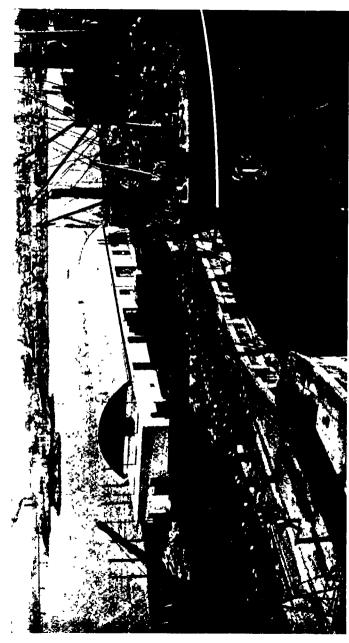
¹⁸ Vice-Admiral J. C. T. Glossop, C.B; R.N. Commanded H.M.A.S. Sydney, 1913/17. Of Bridport, Dorset, Eng; b. Twickenham, Middlesex, Eng, 23 Oct, 1871 Died, 24 Dec. 1934

¹⁰ The time was subsequently altered to 10 am. See p 33



Embarration of the 1st Battalion, A N & M E F. in the Bermin at Cockatoo Island, 18th August, 1914

Lent by the 14st Commonwealth Shipping Board



Embarration of the Naval Brigade, A N & M.E.F. in the Bcrrima at Cockatoo Island, 18th August, 1914

the *Protector* were therefore ordered to proceed direct to Rabaul, which, even at their best speed, they could not reach till after the arrival of the main expedition.

On arrival at Port Moresby, which was reached on the 4th of September, Colonel Holmes inspected the troops on board the Kanowna. The result was extremely discouraging. The Kennedy Regiment had orders in case of war to reinforce the garrison of Thursday Island, and its eager but inexperienced officers had, as soon as they received news of the outbreak of war, hastily mobilised the regiment, requisitioned the Kanowna (under the provisions of the Defence Act), and were duly transported to that destination. At Thursday Island volunteers had been called for for service outside the Commonwealth, and half the regiment (that is, 500 men) had responded, the Kanowna being retained to carry them wherever they might be required. In these circumstances a commander with inadequate military training, with no regimental staff, and served only by youthful or comparatively inexperienced company officers, had encountered exceptional difficulties. Many of his men were just "trainees," boys of eighteen to twenty years, physically unfit for tropical campaigning. Supplies of clothing and boots were non-existent or unsuitable. food supplies were deficient, there were no tents, no mosquitonets. no hammocks, and the shipboard accommodation was hopelessly inadequate, as might be expected in a vessel unexpectedly taken over for war duties. The ship's company. too, which had not been consulted or asked to volunteer, and which was expected to take the vessel far beyond the limits of its authorised run, was discontented and ready to strike.

In view of all these difficulties, Colonel Holmes decided²⁰ to tell the admiral that he regretfully considered the Kanowna's troops unfitted for active service, and to recommend that they be returned to the State to which they belonged. In the meantime the admiral was informed by wireless from the Sydney that it was considered desirable to discharge the transport Kanowna and the troops on board her, unless he urgently required them.

On the morning of September 7th the cruisers Sydney and Encounter, the auxiliary cruiser Berrima, the destroyers

²⁰ It was at first resolved to take the Kanowna's troops to Rabaul for employment in garrison duties only. This decision was afterwards abandoned.

Warrego and Yarra, the submarines AE 1 and AE 2, the transport Kanowna, and the supply-ship Aorangi left Port Moresby for the appointed rendezvous at Rossel Island. The

Parramatta followed, convoying the collier Koolonga and the oiltanker Murex, as these vessels were too slow to keep up with the others. The reef-guarded entrance to Port Moresby had not been left far behind when it was noticed that the Kanowna was falling back. Shortly afterwards she stopped, swung broadside on to the convoy, and hoisted the signal "lost control." The Sydney turned in a half-circle and went back towards her, sending on one of the



destroyers, which ranged alongside the drifting transport. It was then ascertained that the firemen had mutinied and refused to stoke the ship, objecting to proceeding any further with the expedition.21 The Sydney signalled to the Berrima: "I have sent the Kanowna direct to Townsville." message ran: "It was only the firemen who mutinied; there were volunteers from the troops to do the stoking. I suggest that trainees be disbanded, and, if more troops required, seasoned men (who have) passed medical test be employed." To this Colonel Holmes replied: "I consider the Kanowna detachment as at present constituted and equipped unfit for immediate service, and in view of to-day's events and your action in ordering ship back to Townsville recommend disbandment, and reorganisation if admiral considers further troops necessary." This message was conveyed to the Kanowna as an official instruction from Colonel Holmes. Admiral Patey, who was informed, agreed that the Berrima troops were sufficient.

The disbanding of the Kanowna detachment was a regrettable episode, and caused considerable heart-burning; but there can be no doubt, on the facts, that Colonel Holmes

²¹ Though the troops had volunteered for oversea service, the Kasowna's crew, it must be remembered, had not.

was right in his decision that this unit, in the condition in which he found it, was unfit for service with his expedition. Two facts have been clearly demonstrated during the military occupation of German New Guinea—that the country is one for men between twenty-five and forty years of age, and that the insidious climate fastens relentlessly upon any physical weakness. Only seasoned men of robust bodily fitness could be depended on to endure the rigours of even a few days' marching and fighting in those latitudes, where the moist heat hangs like an oppressive curtain and makes strenuous exertion for more than a few hours intolerable to a white race.

The troops on the discharged transport were from first to last the victims of circumstances. They had offered themselves for service; they had been accepted; and they were prepared to do their best. There was no lack of spirit, and their disappointment at being left behind was keen and lasting. If called upon, they would have stoked the *Kanowna* to New Britain as readily as they did to Townsville. Many afterwards joined the A.I.F., and some of their names will ever be preserved in Australian history.²²

Meanwhile the Australia was on her way back from Suva, having left that place on September 4th in company with the Melbourne. The light cruiser was at once detached to proceed to Nauru, put the wireless station there out of action, and rejoin the fleet at Rabaul. Glossop was ordered, as has already been said, to meet the flagship with his convoy at 10 a.m.²⁸ on September 9th off the Swinger Opening to Rossel Lagoon.

Rossel Island is a dark-wooded, mountainous outlier of the Louisiade Archipelago, south-east of Papua. It is surrounded by coral reefs, of which that on the west coast, in the direction of Sud-Est Island, extends far out in the shape of a long loop round this side of the island and forms a capacious well-sheltered lagoon with several narrow openings to the sea. The Swinger Opening is on the north side of the loop. Here Admiral Patey, Colonel Holmes, Captain Glossop, and Commander Stevenson discussed the final plans for the attack on German New Guinea, and the admiral issued his operation order for the occupation of Rabaul and

²² For example, Capt. H. Quinn and Lieut. H. P. Armstrong, both killed at Quinn's Post in Gallipoli. (Vol. II, pp 219 and 113.)

²³ This time had been altered from that previously appointed, 7 a.m. See p. 30.

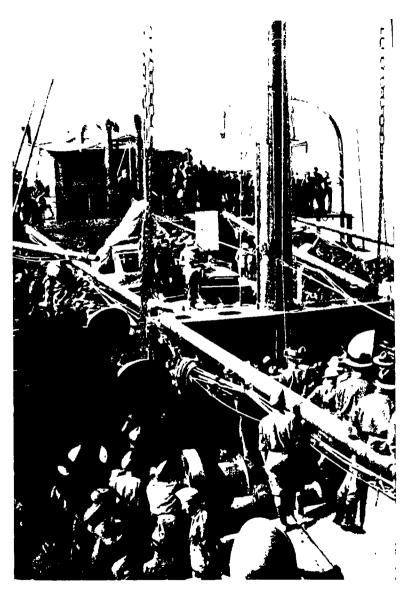
Herbertshöhe. This provided that the Sydney and the destroyers should be detached at dusk on September 10th and should proceed to Simpson Harbour, arriving there at about 3.30 a.m. on September 11th. If the enemy's heavy ships were met with under way outside, the destroyers were to attack at once, the Sydney informing the admiral as soon as the attack developed and then retiring on the Australia with the destroyers. If heavy ships were not seen outside, the Sydney, on reaching the harbour entrance, was to remain there in support, while the destroyers entered the harbour, attacked any men-of-war found in it, and rejoined the Sydney

after delivering attack. If no men-of-war were found in Simpson Harbour, or if only the small ships *Planet* and *Komet* were there, the destroyers, after sinking these, were to enter Matupi Harbour, attack any ships found there, and then rejoin the *Sydney*, the admiral being informed of the result of the reconnaissance. As soon as



there was light enough, the *Parramatta* was to examine the pier in Simpson Harbour and its vicinity and report to the admiral whether it was safe for the transport to go alongside. The main body of the expedition was to arrive off Simpson Harbour at a later hour. It was agreed that Colonel Holmes, as officer commanding the expeditionary force, should have a free hand in relation to all operations ashore.

The way now lay straight across the last stretch of sea, and a course was shaped direct for St. George's Channel. It soon became clear that, in consequence of the late arrival of the *Parramatta* with her collier and oil-tanker, and the slow speed of several ships, the arrival of the troops at Blanche Bay might be twenty-four hours later than the time appointed Economy of time was important, and the *Sydney* must necessarily be detached from the expedition at the earliest possible stage, in order that she might return to Australia for emergency docking. She was therefore instructed to



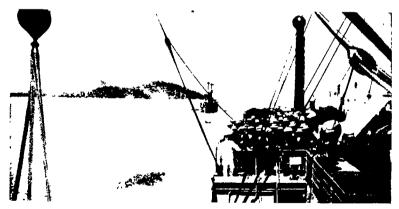
CHURCH PARADE IN THE Berrima

Colonel Holmes conducting the service on the after deck.



Mun of the 1st Battalion, A N & M E F, training at Palm Islands

Taken by Capt B C 4 Pockley AAMC



PART OF THE NAVAL BRIGADI IN THE Berrima AT PALM ISLANDS, AUGUST 1914

HMAS. Encounter in the distance.

Taken by F S Burnell, Esq.

To face \$ 35.

proceed at 6 a.m. on September 10th, with the destroyers, at the speed necessary to enable her to carry out her duties. At 8 o'clock the same morning the Australia and Berrima increased their speed to thirteen knots, and went on ahead of the other units, leaving the Encounter and the submarines to escort the convoy—which by that time had been joined by the colliers Waihora and Whangape from Noumea.

In the Berring all was well. The men had settled down to the routine life on board, and were drilled for three periods in each day. Before embarkation the military contingent had been inoculated against enteric fever; on ship a second inoculation was given, and this precautionary measure was extended to the naval unit, which had not been treated before Vaccination against small-pox was also leaving Sydney. carried out, and, in the later stage of the voyage, quinine was administered as a preventive of malarial fever. Soon the tropical heat began to be severely felt. The men's quarters were crowded, and, although a khaki cotton working dress was provided for the soldiers and canvas for the sailors, their main clothing and uniforms were of wool, which, though suitable for Australia, became almost intolerable in that warm, moist climate, where the skin, even on uncovered hands, is nearly always in a state of perspiration. Nevertheless the men were in high spirits. In a letter to the Chief of the General Staff, dated September 9th, when the Berrima was off Woodlark Island and 300 miles from her destination, Colonel Holmes wrote: "There is a most excellent feeling on board; the discipline is of the best, food is good, and there is not a single case in hospital. . . . I am hoping that when the situation is cleared up, small garrisons at these places will suffice and the bulk of my force will be withdrawn and utilised elsewhere in the Empire, as it will by that time be a well-trained and well-seasoned unit, which I am convinced would do credit to Australia anywhere.

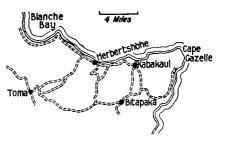
"Particularly do I wish this, as although the work on which I am engaged is of great importance to the Empire and will be of historical value in changing, if ever so little, the face of the map, it will, as far as I can see, be carried out without a shot being fired, which will be a keen disappointment to many with me, who, like young foxhounds, would be all the better as soldiers if they were blooded."

CHAPTER IV

RABAUL AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

It was not until the month preceding the outbreak of the war that the Protectorate of German New Guinea had been linked up by wireless communication with other countries. No cable touched its shores, and prior to July, 1914, unless a German cruiser lay in harbour, the inhabitants of the territory were dependent on the mail steamers for tidings of the outside world. The erection of a station on the Telefunken system had, however, been for some time in progress. A Berlin wireless company had undertaken the work, had sent out a construction engineer with plant and apparatus, and had been given a free grant of land for a site. The position selected, after experiments in other places on the Gazelle Peninsula, was at Bitapaka, about ten miles by road south-east of

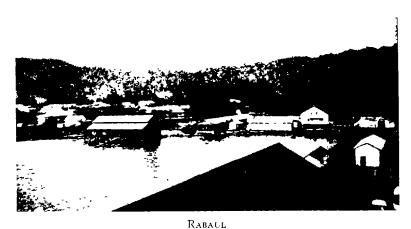
Herbertshöhe. From the sea, inside Cape Gazelle, the land rises towards the station in undulating sweeps: it is covered with dense jungle and forest, and breaks into steep ravines. Eastwards the coast is reef-fringed and steep, and the country,



rugged and heavily-timbered, offers a very difficult approach for troops. A narrow road about five miles long, hewn through the bush, connects Bitapaka with Kabakaul (on the coast east of Herbertshöhe), where a rubble jetty had been constructed for the landing of stores and machinery for the wireless station; this road had been made practicable for motor traction in dry weather. About a quarter of a mile above the jetty the road which runs round the bay from Rabaul to Herbertshöhe, and continues on to Namalili near Cape Gazelle, crosses the Kabakaul-Bitapaka road at right angles. Native bush-tracks run across, and off, the route to the station, and some of them converge on it so as to afford other means of access by foot.

¹ This is the German spelling of the name Of late years it has become customary to make two words of it—"Bita Paka."





View from the wharf, showing Government stores and workshops along the shore



RABAUL

On the left is the condensing plant, on the right the headquarters of the motor-transport services

Taken by F & Burnell, Esq.

To face \$ 37

In July, 1914, the wireless station was still under construction. The iron masts or towers still lay on the ground, with the rank kunai grass growing through their lattices. In that month, however, a temporary mast was erected, receiving apparatus was installed, and the station was so far put into working order that wireless messages could be intercepted or received.

It was by this means that Rabaul learned of the declaration of war. During the night of August 5th2 the station received from the wireless station at Nauru a Berlin message intimating that war had broken out between Germany and Britain, France, and Russia. The acting Governor, Dr. Haber, was at the time absent from Rabaul on a visit of inspection to the mainland of New Guinea. On August 3rd or 4th his deputy had been informed by the captain of the Planet, which was then at Rabaul, that the situation in Europe had become critical, and that the Planet had received orders to proceed immediately to a pre-arranged rendezvous. Planet was instructed to transmit the news to the Komet. which had conveyed Dr. Haber to Morobe and was cruising along the neighbouring coast until he should return. Komet had a small Telefunken set, and on August 5th, while at Madang, picked up the Nauru message; but she had to wait until Dr. Haber returned to Morobe. This he did on August 11th, and left in the Komet the same night for Rabaul.

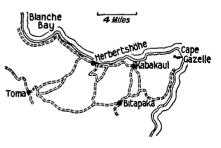
At Morobe the captain of the Komet informed him that wireless signals which had been overheard indicated that two British cruisers were not far away. The Komet was, therefore, instructed to sail after dark and, shaping a course for the Gazelle Peninsula, to travel only at night and without lights, lying concealed in a small harbour on the New Britain coast during the day. Haber had intended to land at Put-Put, in Rügen Harbour (about eighteen miles south of Cape Gazelle), and to travel overland to Bitapaka. But during the night of August 13th the Komet found herself between wireless calls coming clear and strong. It appeared, therefore, that there were British warships in St. George's

² The activities of the Germans at Rabaul during the months July, Aug., and Sept. 1s indicated in the diaries—discovered shortly after the Australian occupation—of two Government officials. Translations of extracts from these are given in Appendix No. 1.

Channel,³ and, as the narrow entrance through the reefs at Put-Put could only be attempted in daylight, Haber decided to go straight to Herbertshöhe. But the open roadstead there was swept by a strong south-east wind, which made a landing quite impossible, and the *Komet* took him to Matupi, where she arrived at 3.45 in the morning of August 14th. She had only 30 to 40 tons of coal left; hurriedly taking in a little more. she left within two hours for a harbour near the Willaumez Peninsula, arrangements having been made for 250 tons of coal to be brought to her by a small steamer called the *Siar*, belonging to the New Guinea Company.

On arrival at Rabaul, where, as he reported, "the utmost excitement prevailed," Haber was informed that the Australian Squadron had entered Blanche Bay on August 12th; destroyers had reconnoitred Simpson Harbour and Matupi Harbour, and landing parties had demolished the telephones in the post offices at Rabaul and Herbertshöhe, and had made inquiries as to the site of the wireless station. No information had been given them, and the landing parties returned to their ships The squadron, after threatening to bombard the settlements if the wireless station continued to send out messages, had left Blanche Bay in the late afternoon, proceeding through St. George's Channel on a southerly course. Dr. Haber also learned that the seat of government had been transferred, on

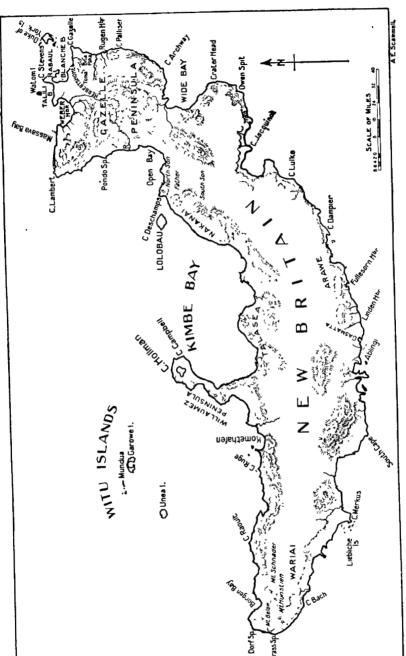
the outbreak of war, to Toma, in the country behind Herbertshöhe, and that his deputy was then at the new centre of administration. For that place he accordingly set out overland, after little more than an hour's stay in Rabaul.



In the meantime his deputy, upon being advised from Berlin of the declaration of war, had taken steps to meet the exigencies of the situation. On August 6th a

² A German military officer who was on the *Komet* stated in an official report that the *Komet*, sailing without lights, passed within a few miles of a ship believed to be one of the Australian Squadron.

A full account of this reconnaissance will be found in Vol. IX (ch. i, sec. iii).



NEW BRITAIN

proclamation⁵ was issued notifying the existence of a state of war. A translation of this proclamation may here be given, since its text describes the military force of the Protectorate:—

EXTRAORDINARY OF THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE FOR GERMAN NEW GUINEA.

PROCLAMATION.

War has broken out between the German Empire on the one side and England, France, and Russia on the other.

The Protectorate finds itself in a state of war.

The military forces of the Protectorate consist of the Expeditionary Force and the Europeans attached to it. The distinctive mark of membership of the military forces is the wearing of a green band on both upper arms, or the wearing of a military head-dress with an Imperial cockade.

The police forces of the outstations, and that section of the Rabaul police-force which is to remain there for the maintenance of peace and safety, do not belong to the military forces. Their distinguishing badge is a white band on each upper arm, and white cap-covers.

The seat of Government is removed to Toma. Rabaul, the 6th of August, 1914.

The Imperial Governor,

By authority.

SCHLETTWEIN.

The same morning part of the Treasury funds was distributed among the principal German commercial companies in Rabaul, receipts and cheques being deposited with the Government as an acknowledgment. Such government stores in Rabaul as were not immediately required were also transferred to the German firms in return for cheques and bills of exchange. A cash reserve of 186,293 marks (£9,087) was

See Appendix No. 2.

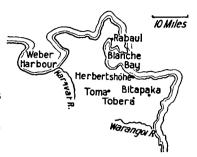
transported by Treasury officials to Toma. By a further proclamation issued that day reservists of the German Army who were resident in Rabaul were called up for service, constituted a European section, and ordered to proceed for drill and training to Rakunai on the heights west of Simpson Harbour, opposite Rabaul. In the afternoon of August 6th the officer administering the Government left Rabaul for Toma, and the officials followed him there next day.

The construction staff at the wireless station was reinforced, and, working day and night, succeeded in erecting two iron towers, each being 150 feet high. By the use of marine motors and small auxiliary electrical apparatus the station was rendered capable of calling other German stations and transmitting messages—but only on August 12th, a few hours before the Australian fleet entered Blanche Bay.

Toma, situated about ten miles inland from Herbertshöhe, is connected with that place by a road which climbs through coconut plantations from sea-level to the hills. Established first as a military outpost to hold the natives in check, it subsequently became a hill sanatorium. It lies on a spur of the Wunakokor Ridge, which commands an extensive view over the surrounding country. A road runs from Toma in the direction of Bitapaka as far as Tobera; from Tobera

^{*}Late on Sept. 17 seventy men under two young officers, Lieuts. V. H. B. Sampson and I. B. Sherbon, were sent from Herbertshöhe to retrieve this treasure, and to intercept certain German reservists. This small force, which was nine days on its mission, encountered extraordinary difficulties. The treasure had been deposited at three points, known as "Places A, B, and C." Reaching Toma on the morning of the 18th, the expedition plunged into steep hill country, and after meeting a force of 26 uniformed Germans and 79 natives—who fortunately had heard of the surrender and offered no opposition—reached in the afternoon Place A, where the first portion of the treasure was handed over by the guard of 50 native police. After an hour's rest, the troops pushed on by five miles of narrow track to Place B, where the Germans had their field wireless station. The following morning Sampson and Sherbon, with seven men, marched to Place C, where they found the former Acting Governor, Dr. Haber, and a number of officials in camp with ten cases of gold and notes, and some silver. The Germans received them hospitably and handed over the treasure, which Sherbon sealed with—for want of anything more official—an English penny. Dr. Haber then informed them that a number of other cases were buried at Place B, beneath the very tent in which some of the party had slept the night before. This was dug up and similarly scaled by Sampson. Making two journeys the expedition brought back not only the treasure, but the wireless plant, bullock waggons being available from Place A onwards. The German reservists were encountered, but, having been warned of the terms of surrender, gave themselves up without opposition. (Sampson and Sherbon subsequently enlisted in the A.I.F., each attaining the rank of major. Both were killed—the former on 19 July, 1916, in the Battle of Fromelles, while serving with the 53rd Battalion, and the latter on 14 Nov., 1916, at Flers, as a member of the 19th Battalion. Sampson belonged to Sydney and Sherbon to La Perouse

there is a native track to the wireless station. Behind the Toma heights the land falls precipitously to a wide, deep valley, through which the Warangoi and Karavat Rivers flow in opposite directions to the sea—the one eastward into St. George's Channel, the other westward into



Weber Harbour. On the farther side of the valley rises the rugged wall of the Baining Mountains—a region untraversed and unknown, inhabited by savage natives who had never been brought under government authority or influence.

The plan of transferring the seat of government to Toma (or some other suitable place) in the event of war had been definitely decided upon by the Government of the Protectorate with the approval of the German Colonial Office, in 1912; for then the defence of the territory had to be considered. in view of the Agadir crisis in Europe. It was intended that. in case of an attack on the German colony, the Government should endeavour to keep the Protectorate still serviceable as a base for, or link of communication with, the German Pacific Squadron. The central administration must therefore by all possible means maintain its existence as a government. was recognised that, without fixed defences and a large force. Rabaul and Herbertshöhe could not be held against an enemy squadron: these centres were, therefore, to offer no resistance to an occupying force, though at other places weak landing parties might be opposed, the troops retiring slowly before any large body of the enemy, so as to keep it in the field and draw it away from its base. The Government officials were to retire with the forces, taking with them the public funds and endeavouring to maintain administrative control. It was believed that although, as long as the German East Asiatic Squadron and the small German cruisers on the Australian station kept the sea, Great Britain might think it necessary to destroy the wireless station, vet she would not on that account commit herself to lengthy operations in the Gazelle Peninsula. Moreover, the commander of the German forces believed that, by taking advantage of the dense jungles, rugged country, and treacherous climate, a force of two or three hundred troops inured to the tropics would suffice to hold landing parties in check, especially as the enemy would in all probability not venture far from the coast. If, on the other hand, the German cruisers were destroyed or put out of action before the colony was attacked, Great Britain, it was thought, would have no military interest in demolishing the wireless station, and in such a case the Protectorate would remain unmolested. There remained the possibility that Japan or Australia (which was vitally interested for geographical reasons) might despatch an expedition of overwhelming strength against the Protectorate; in that case, if under cover of the guns of a fleet a landing was effected by a large body of troops supported by artillery, the colony's force could be used only to gain time for negotiations. Any continued resistance to the occupation of the Protectorate by an overwhelming force was in the opinion of the German Colonial Office inadvisable.

For these reasons Dr. Haber's instructions to von Klewitz. the officer commanding the forces, were that he must at all costs defend the wireless station against a surprise attack, or an advance by a small force. If the move on Bitapaka were made in strength, the enemy was to be held up till the wireless apparatus could be dismantled—experts had advised that six hours would be sufficient for this purpose—and the forces were then to retire on Toma. If an attack were made not on the wireless station but on the seat of government, the whole of the armed forces were to be used in its defence. But Toma could be reached by several roads, which converged upon it from the coast. From the direction of the harbour it was easily accessible, as on that side the country was covered for the most part with coconut plantations, which offered no serious impediment to the movement of troops. It could not be held against a strong landing force.

Haber, therefore, had in view a subsequent removal of the seat of government from Toma to the interior, and issued instructions accordingly. Rabaul and Herbertshöhe were to be left undefended, in order to leave no excuse for bombarding them. The armed forces of the Protectorate must avoid



TOMA

The photograph shows, in the background, the sanatorium built by the Germans. The building in the Toreground was erected in 1917 for the use of convalescent troops

Taken ty H Hoistmann

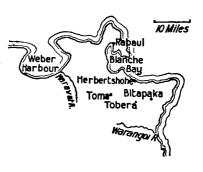
operations in their vicinity. Action in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast was also forbidden, so that the defending force should not come under the fire of enemy cruisers at close range.

As from the outset it appeared to Haber and von Klewitz doubtful whether the wireless station could be held against a landing force, the chief constructing engineer was consulted about the erection of a second wireless station farther inland. It was decided that the assembling and setting up of the permanent installation at Bitapaka should be pushed forward, so as to make the temporary machinery and apparatus available for use elsewhere. The latter was then to be sent by motor-lorry to Herbertshöhe and thence to Toma, in order to be transported by bullock-waggon into the interior. A suitable place for the reserve station was found in the Taulil district, south-west of Toma; it lay on the right bank of the Karavat River, about fifteen miles from Toma, on undulating ground covered with tall forest about 400 feet above sea-level. The approach was by a road along the plateau past a mission station called "Vunadidir": but on the farther side of the

mission house the road ended, and only a native track led from the ridge to the low-

lying Taulil plain.

About two miles from the site just described another position, on higher ground, was chosen for a reserve seat of government. A track was cut to it, and bush houses were erected. Towards the end of August, however. Dr.



Haber was seriously entertaining the idea of moving the seat of government into the Baining Mountains on the other side of the Karavat River. But the district officer at Herbertshöhe, the one official who knew anything of the Baining country, was ill, and no one else could find his way into the rugged, forbidding ranges, or make overtures to the wild natives who inhabit those fastnesses. Moreover.

A wireless station near Toma was working on Aug. 11. See Appendix No. 1.

there were many officials and settlers who did not believe that an attack would be made on the Protectorate, and who discouraged the project to withdraw farther into the interior. Haber was therefore, for the time being, compelled to abandon his proposed retreat to the Baining Mountains.

Another proposal, discussed at the same time, was that the Governor and his staff should proceed in the Komet to and up the Sepik River (on the mainland of New Guinea) and there establish an armed camp. This plan was rejected for several reasons. The Komet's wireless set was not powerful enough to transmit messages to Bitapaka from such a distance: further, in the event of a hostile force occupying New Britain, this withdrawal would imply a voluntary surrender of the real centre of government, and the complete elimination of the Governor from the administration of the Protectorate. About this time Haber came to the conclusion that, if Rabaul were occupied by the enemy, the Treasury funds that had been distributed among commercial firms would be traced and claimed as government property; he therefore reclaimed the moneys, brought them to Taulil, and buried them close to the reserve wireless site. Near this place a position was also selected, in the midst of native plantations, as a dépôt for bullock-carts, horses, and provisions, and as rendezvous of the forces. Toma was already connected by telephone with Herbertshöhe and Rabaul: new telephone connections were now made between Toma, Tobera, and Bitapaka, and between Toma, Vunadidir, and Taulil.

By September of the progress made in installing permanent machinery at the main wireless station was sufficient to render the temporary plant available for the Taulil station. It was accordingly transported by motor-lorry through Herbertshöhe and up to Toma, loaded into bullock-carts, and taken down the steep track into the valley; the work of installation was soon completed, but the receiving apparatus was defective, having neither sounder nor detector.

During the latter half of August and the beginning of September small vessels engaged in the inter-island trade continued to make voyages to different parts of the Protectorate, and communication was thus maintained between outlying government stations and New Britain. But the visits of oversea mail-boats had entirely ceased at the outbreak



PART OF THE GERMAN FORCE IN NEW GLINEA

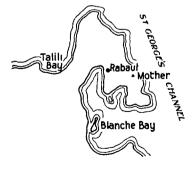
A squad of local reservists called out by proclamation for active service

Lent by Capt J. Lyng, 4 V & M E F. Aust 11 ar Memorial Collection No. 42543

of war and the colony was completely isolated. Food supplies were beginning to run short, especially flour and salt. There were only small stocks of rice, a commodity of which great quantities were required for the thousands of native labourers on the plantations. The country, too, was suffering from a prolonged drought, of a severity unknown for seventeen vears. whose effects were particularly felt in the Bismarck Native gardens and plantations, where the Archipelago. yam, taro, sweet potato, and banana are cultivated, lay destroyed and desolate in the tropical sun. Everywhere there was a scarcity of native food, and in New Ireland numbers of famine-stricken natives starved to death. News from the outside world still came in by wireless. Yap station had ceased to transmit messages since August 12th, when it was put out of action by H.M.S. Hampshire: but press war-news was transmitted from Samoa through Nauru until the end of August, when the Apia installation was dismantled by the Germans on the arrival of the New Zealand expeditionary force. Nauru itself maintained the connection until wrecked by a landing party from the Melbourne on September oth Thereafter the isolation of the Protectorate was complete.

When the outbreak of war was notified in Rabaul, one of the first steps taken was the establishment of an observationpost on the summit of the extinct volcano—known to the

natives as "Kombiu" and to Europeans as the "Mother"—which lifts itself to a height of over 2,200 feet above the town and commands a wide view over St. George's Channel, Blanche Bay, Talili Bay, and the coast-line of the narrow Crater Peninsula on which Rabaul lies. In the afternoon of August 6th, when the excitement was at

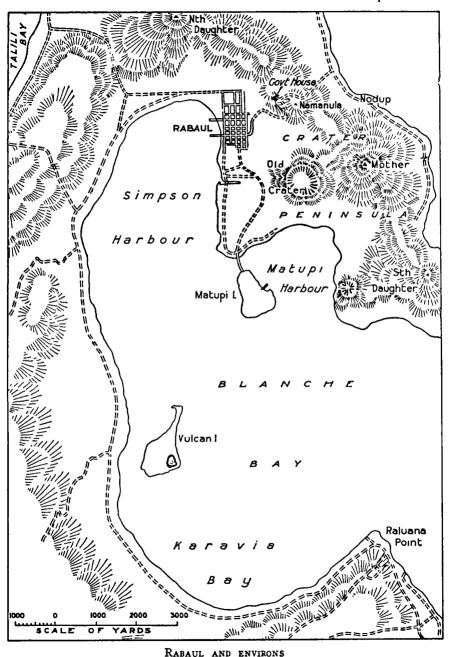


its height, it was reported that signals were being made from this observation-post notifying the approach of enemy ships. Before it was ascertained that the report was unfounded, certain British subjects then in Rabaul were by the instructions

of the district officer sent under escort to the mission station of Vlavolo on Talili Bay, about five miles from Rabaul. Two days afterwards they were released, but were again interned on August 12th, when the Australian fleet made its reconnaissance; on this occasion they were detained, by direction of the district officer, in Government House at Namanula on the hills behind Rabaul, to prevent them from holding any communication with the ships. Subsequently they were taken to the North Baining coast near Massava Bay, where they were given very indifferent accommodation, and were kept under guard. Included among them were Lieutenant-General Wylde—a British officer of the Royal Marines—who was on a visit to Rabaul to see his daughter, the wife of Captain Möller of the Komet: Frederick Jolley.8 British consul; Stephen Whiteman, a merchant of Rabaul; Whiteman's brother; and three others with business interests in Rabaul. General Wylde's daughter made representations to Haber on behalf of her father, and Wylde was at once released on The same offer was made to the others, provided Jolley, however, stated that he they returned to Rabaul. would not give his parole unless he were allowed to reside on his plantation at Raulavat on Weber Harbour. To this Haber would not agree; Raulavat was too near his reserve seat of government, and preparations to meet a possible attack were being made in the country behind Weber Harbour; he therefore sent Jolley to Käwieng in New Ireland, the district officer there being instructed that he must be given proper treatment, as an ex-consul, at the expense of the Protectorate. Stephen Whiteman and his brother gave their parole and returned to Rabaul: in spite of this they were, on the arrival of the Australian expeditionary force, again taken into custody by direction of the district officer and sent into the interior, where they were subjected to considerable hardships. Official German records show that Haber was not informed of this action at the time, and was not a party to the breach of faith

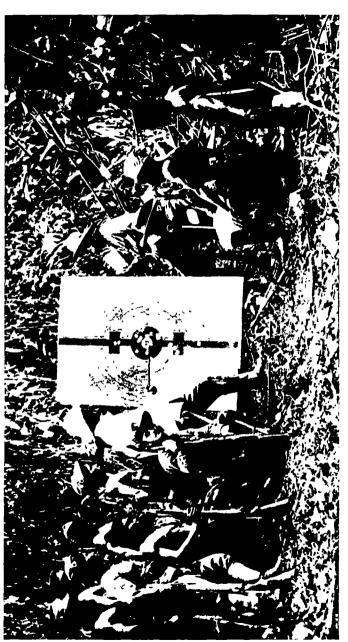
The Protectorate possessed neither a standing army nor any force constituted to resist invasion. The budget of the colony made provision for an establishment of slightly less than 1,000 native police. Each of the nine government

⁸ He subsequently enlisted in the A.I.F., serving with the 4th and 58th Bns. (Capt. F. R. Jolle . British Consul for German New Guinea; of Sydney and Rabaul; b. Prahrar Vic., 3 Jan., 1883.)



RABAUL AND ENVIRONS

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GERMAN RISERVISTS INSTRUCTING NATIVE TROUPS IN MUSEETRY, NEW GUINEA, 1914

Lent by Capt J Lyna 4 N & MEF Aust Har Vemorial Collection No A2545

Aug., 1914]

stations had its quota of this force, which was thus scattered over wide districts and could not be brought together for training. Its principal duties were to keep order among the native population and to furnish escorts for the district officer when he went on patrol. An expeditionary force of 125 native troops was constituted, and trained as a self-contained unit, with headquarters at Herbertshöhe; this was designed as a mobile force for despatch to any part of the territory, to meet native risings and similar emergencies.

A police inspector, a cavalry captain in the regular army, supervised the training, armament, and distribution of the native police. The Colonial Office provided in addition the services of a senior lieutenant of the regular army; he had charge of the training of the native expeditionary force, the strength of which had, some months before the war, been raised to 240. There were no fixed defences at any place in the territory, nor any field artillery, and though there were in Rabaul two guns without limbers, to be used for firing salutes, there was no effective ammunition available for them. A machine-gun which had been stored in Rabaul was taken away by the *Planet* when she departed early in August; another was at Madang. The troops were armed with the Mauser rifle, for which there was an ample supply of ammunition.

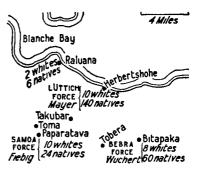
It was only shortly before the war that, by virtue of a new law passed in Germany, the Governor was given power to call up for active service within the Protectorate men belonging to the reserve and Landwehr of the German Army. The proclamation issued at Rabaul on August 6th was the colonists' first notification of this law, which had not yet been published in the outlying districts. Communication with distant parts of the Protectorate was difficult and precarious. as the mail steamers were no longer running, and the only links were small local vessels. Much time must therefore elapse before the new law could be proclaimed in the outer districts, and more before reservists in distant parts could report themselves in New Britain, so that rapid mobilisation or concentration was impracticable. Many men. moreover, must be left in their administrative offices, on plantations, or in commercial businesses, so as to maintain order among the native population and provide for supplies of food to the numerous native labourers.

When all available reservists in New Britain and New Ireland had reported for service, the armed force of the Protectorate consisted of 2 officers on the active list of the German Army, 7 Landwehr officers, 52 white non-commissioned officers and men, and about 240 native soldiers. regular officers were Captain of Cavalry (Rittmeister) von Klewitz, to whom was given the command of the troops, and Senior Lieutenant Mayer, who had been in command of the native expeditionary force. The other officers. commissioned officers, and men belonged to the reserve-Landwehr and Landsturm—of the German Army, and were in their daily life officials, planters, merchants, sailors, or settlers; some had received no training for a long time; twelve were reservists (that is, "deferred" trainees who had had no military training at all). All, however, were either accustomed or temperamentally amenable to discipline; all were acclimatised; most were familiar with the kind of country in which they would be called upon to fight. Among the native troops were a number in their second or third years of training. In physique and morale the expeditionary corps did not represent the best types of Protectorate native, since drafts were made from the native police on the outstations, and the district officers naturally kept for their own police the men of the finer physique and higher intelligence, and sent only men of inferior quality to Herbertshöhe. Both von Klewitz and Mayer doubted whether much dependence could be placed upon the expeditionary force under fire; the original plan of maintaining a separate company of white soldiers was

therefore abandoned, and these were divided among the other sections to stiffen the native troops.

The dispositions made to meet attack were as follows:

The wireless station at Bitapaka was occupied by 8 white and 60 native soldiers under the command of Captain



Wuchert. This force (to which the code name "Bebra" was

given) was intended, in the case of a hostile landing, to meet the attack at some point near the coast. If the pressure became too strong, the section had orders to retire fighting on Bitapaka and, after demolishing the station, to withdraw to Tobera. In no circumstances was the wireless station to be allowed to fall into the enemy's hands in a serviceable condition.

A company of 10 white and 140 native soldiers, under the command of Lieutenant Mayer, was stationed at Herbertshöhe. This company (whose code name was "Lüttich") was ordered, in case of a hostile landing, to retire some distance from Herbertshöhe, and await information about the enemy's advance. It was then to follow him, and fall on his flanks or rear. A section stationed at Paparatava near Toma on the Herbertshöhe-Toma road, and another section stationed at Takubar on the same road nearer the coast. were allotted to protect the Government. name was "Samoa." At Vunadidir, north-west of Toma, an observation-post of eight white soldiers was established; at Raluana on the coast (about five miles north-west from Herbertshöhe) there was an observation and outpost station of two white and six native soldiers. There was also a small post at Tobera, half-way between Toma and Bitapaka. Slight changes in the strength of the forces occupying the various positions were made from time to time.

The coast from St. George's Channel to Rabaul was continuously and closely observed. Thus the approach of the Australian Squadron on August 12th was promptly reported, and, in anticipation of a landing, the company stationed at Herbertshöhe had moved towards Kabakaul, the section at Paparatava had been strengthened and pushed forward on the Toma road, and the guard at Toma had been reinforced. On that occasion, however, only two small parties landed, and returned to their ships without coming into contact with the troops. After the Australians had sailed away the former positions were reoccupied, and training was resumed. The native soldiers received regular instruction in musketry and manœuvres, and the troops took part in field-service manœuvres once a week

CHAPTER V

THE SEIZURE OF NEW BRITAIN

Through the soft tropical night the Sydney and the destroyers raced between the high land-masses of New Britain and New Ireland, and about half-past 3 in the morning of September

11th made the long point of Cape Gazelle. Ahead rose the dark cone of the Mother mountain, and to starboard loomed the Duke of York Islands cradled on the sea, with the New Ireland mountains showing faintly above them against the sky. The destroyers ran in and reconnoitred Simpson Harbour and Matupi Harbour. Both



lay empty of ships. The Sydney then circled the Duke of York Islands, and the Parramatta went on to Cape Tawui and examined Talili Bay. But the sea showed bare in the quickening dawn. Towards 6 o'clock the Australia, the Encounter, and the Berrima rounded Cape Gazelle and steamed past Herbertshöhe as far as Karavia Bay: here the flagship's picket-boats were ordered out to sweep for mines, while the Australia herself went seaward again and lay off the entrance. The Parramatta examined the long pier at Rabaul, reporting it clear, with no trace of mines.

The Sydney took up a station in the roadstead of Herbertshöhe, and there twenty-five of the naval troops whom she had embarked at Port Moresby from the Berrima were landed under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Webber.¹ She also sent ashore a party of her own men

¹ Sub-Lieut, (acting Lieut,) C. Webber; R.A.N.R. Bookkeeper; of Melbourne; b. 16 Jan., 1890. (He subsequently served with the Australian artillery in France, attaining the rank of major.)





under Lieutenant-Commander Finlayson,² who carried with him a letter³ in the following terms from the Admiral to the German Governor:—

H.M.A.S. Australia,

At Simpsonshafen, New Britain,

11th September, 1914.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that I have arrived at Simpsonshafen with the intention of occupying Herbertshöhe, Rabaul, and the Island of New Britain.

I will point out to Your Excellency that the force at my command is so large as to render useless any opposition on your part, and such resistance can only result in unnecessary bloodshed.

With regard to this, I hereby inform Your Excellency that I shall consider further communications by you with your Naval Forces, by means of your wireless telegraphy, as an hostile act. Such communications must cease immediately.

I therefore desire that the town of Rabaul⁵ and the Dependencies under your control should be surrendered to me forthwith.

An answer should be delivered to the bearer without delay.

If you do not intend to offer resistance, you should so inform me, and give me assurance with regard to any submarine mines that may have been laid in the harbours. Your Excellency will also be good enough to state when you will interview me or my representative with the object of transferring control.

² Capt, J. F. Finlayson, R.N. Of Leichhardt, N.S.W.; b. Sydney, 12 May, 1883
² The letter was in both English and German. A copy of the latter is shown in Appendix No. 4

⁴ The month and year only were shown in the original document, viz., "September 1914," but all copies in the official records bear the full date.

⁶ The copies of the official records show Herbertshohe. Patey was under the impression that Herbertshohe was still the capital, and cited it as such in later documents (see letter on p 70 and note). It appears possible that before the final typing of the first letter the draft was altered by some member of the staff who was aware that Rabaul was now the capital

It is desirable in the interests of yourself and of the inhabitants that this should be arranged as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

GEORGE E. PATEY

Rear-Admiral Commanding H.M. Australian Fleet.

The Acting Governor⁶ was not at Herbertshöhe, and this letter was given to a German civilian who undertook to have it delivered.

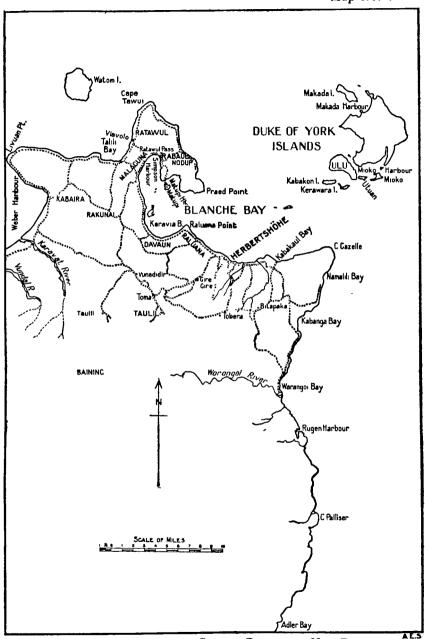
In accordance with the German plans, no opposition was offered at Herbertshöhe; prior to the landing of the Australians, the German force under Lieutenant Mayer had withdrawn to Takubar, and at half-past 7 that morning the colours flying from the District Officer's flagstaff were hauled down, and the Union Jack hoisted.

The information in Admiral Patey's possession with regard to the wireless position was that there were probably two stations—one in course of erection four miles directly inland from Herbertshöhe, on a good road along which heavy motor-

tracks could be seen; the other straight inland from Kabakaul, from which point also a road ran through a plantation to the station. Webber's party therefore advanced from Herbertshöhe along the Toma road, in the direction in which they supposed the wireless station lay. The party under



Finlayson remained in occupation of Herbertshöhe, guarding stores which had been landed from the Sydney.



THE NORTH-EAST PART OF THE GAZELLE PENINSULA, NEW BRITAIN



The actual landing-place was the rubble jetty, alongside which the schooner is lying KABAKALL, SCENE OF THE LANDING OF 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1014

Aust Har Memonal Official Photo No 13091 Taken in 1919.

Before this the Sydney had distributed between the IVarrego and Yarra the remaining twenty-five naval reservists from the Berrima, and just after dawn these were landed by the destroyers at Kabakaul as an advance party under Lieutenant Bowen.⁷ His instructions were to push rapidly and locate and seize the wireless station supposed to lie inland from Kabakaul. With Bowen was Midshipman Buller: 8 and Captain Brian Pockley, 9 of the Army Medical Corps, volunteered to accompany this party, to which were added a medical orderly and a wireless telegraphy rating. Immediately after landing. Bowen's party was reinforced by Gunner Yeo10 and ten men, sent ashore from the Warrego and Yarra by Commander Cumberlege¹¹ to maintain communication between the landing party and the beach. Bowen was therefore able to use these as connecting files without depleting his own small party.

From the rubble breakwater, where the party landed, a track, fringed with bush and coconut palms and scored with wheel-marks in the thick dust, led away from the sea. Passing a planter's homestead, it met the main road running towards Cape Gazelle from Herbertshöhe at a point where a welldefined but narrow road led off at right angles towards the interior. At the cross-roads was a small trading-store, and here a Chinese pointed out the narrow road as the one leading to the wireless station. He was taken along with the party as a guide.

Bowen now pushed forward through the dense jungle which flanked the Bitapaka road on both sides. Avoiding the road itself, which lay like a clear white gap cut through dense forest and was therefore obviously a most dangerous line of approach, his men forced their way through the closely-matted undergrowth from which rose tall forest trees. difficult to penetrate, the bush in places became impassable, and the scouts, working in advance, were compelled now and

[†]Commr. R. G. Bowen; R.A.N. Of Melbourne; b. Taggarty, Vic., 14 Jan., 1879.

[†]Lieut Commr. R. L. Buller; R.A.N.R. Public servant, of Moonee Ponds, Vic; b. Geelong, Vic, 21 May, 1894

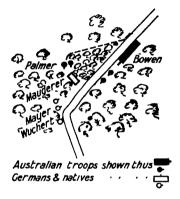
⁹ Capt. B. C. A. Pockley; A.A.M.C. Medical practitioner; of Wahroonga, N.S.W.; b. North Sydney, 4 June, 1890. Died of wounds, 11 Sept., 1914.

¹⁰ Lieut. Commr. S. T. P. Yeo; R.N. Of Stoke Devonport, Eng.; b. Stonehouse, Devonshire, Eng., 7 Sept., 1884.

¹¹ Rear-Admiral C L Cumberlege; R N; b. London, 9 June, 1877.

then to venture on to the road and seek another opening into the cover of the scrub. The main body of Bowen's troops had for the most part to keep to the fringe of the road, as it was impossible to maintain any formation in the tangle of tropical vegetation. Proceeding in this manner, by 9 o'clock the party had reached a point about half-a-mile past the cross-Petty Officer Palmer¹² was in charge of a section scouting ahead on the right or north side of the road, and at this spot his men were held up by a patch of scrub denser than any they had yet encountered. In working round this patch his section got away from the road, and some of his men. losing touch, turned back to pick up the direction of the

main line of advance. It thus happened that Palmer and Able Seaman Eastman.18 who were in front, were isolated in the scrub when they saw, thirty or forty vards ahead of them, about twenty natives belonging to the hostile force, and a white man who appeared to be holding them together. Farther away, crouching in cover of the bush that fringed the road, were two more Germans and a native. who were watching the advance



of Bowen's party. Palmer fired at the first German, and the natives, scattering for shelter, returned the fire. white man, deserted by his troops, dropped his rifle and was about to draw his revolver when Palmer covered him again. He then offered to surrender, and called out in English that he was wounded and in need of assistance. same time he ordered the native troops to cease fire. gave his name as Sergeant-Major Mauderer. Palmer's shot had fractured his right hand. The wound was bound up and he was taken to Bowen.

¹² Petty Officer G. R. Palmer; R A.N R Master mariner, of Parkville, Vic; b Chelmsford, Essex, Eng., 16 Jan., 1879.

¹³ Able Seaman L. S. Eastman. Of Melbourne; h. Fitzroy, Vic., Mar., 1891. (He later enlisted in the R.A.N.B T, and subsequently served with the Australian infantry.)

Bowen realised that he was in an ambush. Accordingly. seizing the opportunity, he ordered Mauderer, under a threat that otherwise he would be shot, to walk up the middle of the road¹⁴ and, standing alone there, to call out to his comrades that they might as well surrender, inasmuch as 800 Australians were following close behind him. Hearing a voice speaking loudly in their own language, the two other Germans, followed by a native soldier, broke from the bush and ran out upon the road. On recognising the trap into which they had fallen they turned to escape, but, finding themselves covered by the rifles of Bowen's leading files, immediately surrendered. At this stage Pockley drew Bowen's attention to the fact that Mauderer, who had been used as a decoy, was losing much blood and would soon die if not attended to. Accordingly in a sheltered spot Pockley at once amputated the German's Mauderer, who underwent this operation with great courage, showing no sign of pain, was then sent to the rear in charge of some seamen.

Of the two captured Germans one gave his name as Captain Wuchert, the officer commanding the Bitapaka section of the German forces. It appears from the official German report that Wuchert, although he had sent out a patrol from the wireless station along the road at 6 o'clock that morning, had received no information, either from the German post near the cross-roads at Kabakaul or from this patrol. Being at half-past 7 o'clock still without knowledge of what was happening, he decided to occupy the more advanced of two positions that had been prepared for the defence of the wireless station, at each of which a trench had been constructed across the full width of the road, with a get-away leading into the dense scrub on either flank. One trench was about two miles from Bitapaka and the other about two miles farther on. Lieutenant Kempf was accordingly despatched with five whites and about twenty natives to occupy the forward trench, and not long afterwards another patrol was sent towards the coast under Sergeant

¹⁴ In the employment of a prisoner in this manner, under a threat, a breach of the rules of war appears to have been unwittingly committed. This was more liable to happen, through ignorance, in the early days of the war than later, when the Australian military authorities had supplied all officers with pamphlets defining the rules with regard to prisoners, etc., and when lectures had been given and orders issued on these subjects. The consideration that loss of life to both sides was thus almost certainly avoided does not alter the legal position.

Schipmann. Then Wuchert—who had had tidings of the appearance of British warships in the bay, but could get no further news from any of his detached forces—determined to see things for himself, and set out along the Kabakaul road.¹⁵ A few hundred metres in front of Kempf's position—to follow for the present the German account—"he found himself surrounded by enemy riflemen, and the only course left to him was surrender."

The second officer turned out to be Lieutenant Mayer, the commandant of the Herbertshöhe force, who had withdrawn his troops in the early morning, before Webber and Finlayson landed from the Sydney. According to the German account, Mayer, after marching his company to a selected position at Takubar, between Herbertshöhe and Kabakaul, had gone to the Roman Catholic mission at Vunapope on the coast to observe what preparations had been made for landing forces from the ships. Receiving information that a small party had landed at Kabakaul and was marching on Bitapaka, and not being aware of any landing as vet at Herbertshöhe, he left the bulk of his company at Takubar to await further instructions and to oppose any advance towards Herbertshöhe from Kabakaul. With a platoon he went on across country from Takubar to the Kabakaul-Bitapaka road, his intention being to take up a position under cover between the Australian troops and the sea, and then to attack them in the rear. When he reached the road, the absence of tracks assured him that the Australians had not yet passed: he therefore left Mauderer at the selected position with the platoon, and himself went forward along the roadside to reconnoitre. Soon he saw enemy troops advancing, but when he turned to rejoin his own men rifle-fire broke out in their direction, and they evacuated the position hurriedly. Mayer, when he again reached it, found only Mauderer sitting under a tree nursing a wounded hand (this, it must be remembered, is his own version of the affair as given to von Klewitz), and after

¹⁵ The German report, which was written up some time afterwards by von Klewitz, does not make it clear whether Wuchert had accompanied Kempf to the forward trench, and was starting from that point, or had proceeded independently from Bitapaka. But von Klewitz's account of the Kabakaul fighting as a whole is confused, and cannot be reconciled with the reports of Australian officers immediately involved in it. Cf. the account given in Vol. IX, ch. is.



THE BITAPAKA ROAD, SHOWING THE DENSITY OF THE JUNGLE.

Short trench or rifle-pit in foreground. Part of the scrub in the background has been cleared by the Germans to facilitate movement.



CAPTAIN B. C. A. POCKLEY

The first medical officer of the Australian forces killed during the war.

Photo by Freeman, Sydney

To face p 57

conversation with him, attempted to break through to Kempf, but heard Wuchert's voice from the road and joined him there under the impression that he was talking to Kempf. 18

The capture of these three men had far-reaching consequences. It deprived the German forces of two senior officers: more important still, detailed maps of the road were found on the prisoners. To Bowen, who was working from a map which gave only a vague outline of the terrain east of Herbertshöhe, the additional information thus gained was invaluable. Furthermore the false report, given by Mauderer under coercion, that 800 men were advancing along the Bitapaka road, reached von Klewitz at Toma during the after-Messages conveying the true strength of the landing parties failed to get through, a scared planter having cut the telephone lines from Kabakaul. Mauderer's statement was accepted as correct, and communicated to Haber-with the result that all attempts to maintain the defence of the coastal belt were abandoned, and Haber was confirmed in his intention of moving the seat of administration from Toma farther inland

The immediate situation which faced Bowen, however, was that his advance was to be contested; and the road, cleft through the dense forest, was all in favour of the defenders. He therefore ordered Midshipman Buller with a small guard to take the prisoners back to Kabakaul and send a message to the Warrego for reinforcements. This request was, of course, signalled on to the flagship, but without waiting for orders Commander Cumberlege immediately landed fifty-nine men from the two destroyers under Lieutenant Hill¹⁷ of the This party—hastily gathered, in every sort of dress and undress, and some of the men armed only with Webley pistols-advanced promptly, leaving connecting links along the road. Meanwhile Admiral Patey sent the Berrima, which was under way in Karavia Bay, to Kabakaul to land reinforcements. No. 3 Company of the Naval Reserve under

The last part of this version of Mayer's doings, though official, cannot be cepted. There is no doubt at all that Mauderer was wounded, captured, and forced to march along the road ahead of Bowen without having any chance of sitting under a tree and talking to Mayer beforehand.

11 Lieut. Commr. G. A. Hill; R.N.R. (later R.A.N.). Master mariner; of Coogee, N.S.W., b. Edgbaston, Birmingham, Eng., 1 May, 1880. Died, 4 May, 1931.

Lieutenant Gillam¹⁸ was first landed, and with it went Lieutenant-Commander Elwell, who was really the leader of the other half of the battalion, but had pleaded hard for permission to go with the first company. Shortly afterwards No. 6 Company under Lieutenant Bond, 19 the machine-gun section under Captain Harcus,20 and a detachment of the Army Medical Corps were sent ashore under the battalioncommander, Beresford, who took with him Captain Travers, the intelligence officer.

Meanwhile Bowen had pushed on, his party being fired upon at frequent intervals. His men returned the fire, but in such a country—although some of the native soldiers were at the time believed to be sniping from high trees—the German forces were almost entirely concealed, and the effect of the Australian shooting could not be seen. The fighting was becoming acute, but the enemy's fire (which seemed to come, now from the bush, now from the screened rifle-pits at the side of the road) was badly directed, and Bowen's main party. for the most part creeping low through the undergrowth, had so far escaped misfortune. But the luck did not hold. About 9.30 one of the men who had been left to advance along the road as connecting files between the main party and the beach -Able Seaman Williams²¹—observed a number of natives in a coconut plantation beside the road. He called up the man next behind him, Stoker Kember,22 who, covered by Williams, went up to the natives and found that they were hoeing among the palms. Williams accordingly went on, but had not advanced far when he was fired on from the bush and fell mortally wounded, the first Australian, so far as is known, shot in the war. Kember carried him for nearly half-a-mile back along the road.

¹⁸ Lieut.-Commr. O. W. Gillam, V D; R.A N.R. Shipping agent and general merchant; of Newcastle, N.S.W.; b. Albany, W. Aust., 26 July, 1877.

19 Commr. T. A. Bond, D.S.O., V.D.; R.A.N.R. Accountant; b. Bishops Waltham, Hants., Eng., 1872.

20 Major J. L. Harcus; 20th Bn., A.I.F. Barrister; of Manly, N.S.W.; b. Heatherbank, Westray, Orkney Isles, Scotland, 22 Nov., 1881. Killed in action in Gallipoli, 11 Dec., 1915.

in Gallipoli, 11 Dec., 1915.

n Able Seaman W. G. V. Williams. Melbourne City Council employee; of Northcote, Vic; b. Richmond, Vic. 24 Nov., 1885 Killed in action, 11 Sept,

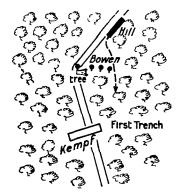
¹⁹¹⁴ ²² Leading Stoker W. Kember. Of Canley Vale, N.S.W.; b. Scaynes Hill, Sussex, Eng. 22 Aug., 1885.

The medical officer, Pockley, had just finished amputating Mauderer's hand when he heard that Williams had been hit. He at once set out to find him; and as native soldiers appeared at this stage to be working through the bush behind Bowen's party, the latter detached with him as escort one of his seamen. by name Annear.28 Pockley found and knelt by the wounded man, who was shot through the stomach and sent him to the rear in charge of Kember and another comrade, at the same time taking off his own red-cross brassard and tying it With his companion he then started around Kember's hat. to return along the road to the front, but they were almost immediately met by an aimed volley fired from some point on the road ahead. Pockley took shelter for a while at the roadside, and then, telling Annear to remain where he was, himself started forward again. He had gone about ten paces along the road when a second volley was fired and he fell seriously wounded. Some time afterwards he was picked up by a party with an ambulance cart and carried off to the Berrima, where both he and Williams died during the afternoon. Pockley's action in giving up his red cross badge, and thus protecting another man's life at the price of his own, was consonant with the best traditions of the Australian army, and afforded a noble foundation for those of the Australian Army Medical Corps in the war.

Meanwhile Buller had rejoined Bowen, and together they discussed the plan of operations in the light of information gathered from the captured maps. While they were thus engaged a German, armed with a rifle, was captured in a pit screened by the scrub. He wore the distinctive green armbands of the German troops, and Bowen, as before, made him march ahead and call out to his compatriots, but without success. Bowen's scouts had already discovered Kempf's trench, about five hundred yards from the point which the main body had reached; it crossed the road and extended for some distance into the bush on Bowen's right front. This trench was occupied in considerable strength, and from it, from rifle-pits on either side of the road, and from the

²⁸ Officers' Steward A. O Annear Campbell's Creek, Vic., 26 Jan, 1893 Shop assistant, of Elsternwick, Vic; b Died, 31 Oct, 1925

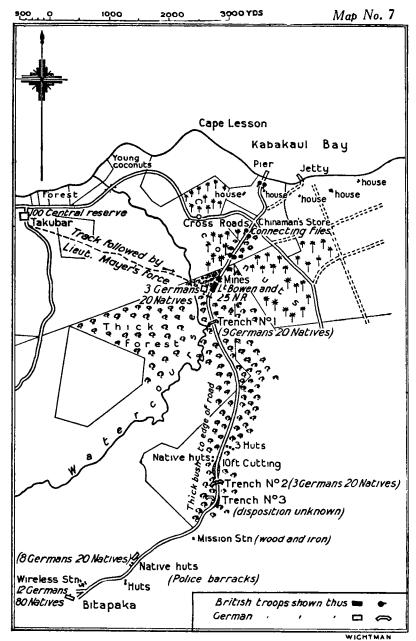
bush, Bowen's party was being sniped. At this stage, however -about 10 a.m.—the position was much improved by the arrival of Lieutenant Hill and fifty men from destroyers, who had pushed great forward with speed. Bowen explained the position to Hill, and it was agreed to engage the trench from the cover of a log that lay partly across the road at a bend from



which the trench could be commanded, while on either flank a force should work through the bush and enfilade the German position. Petty Officer Sandys²⁴ from the Yarra with five men was ordered to work round the left of the enemy so as to harass the defence, but the main attack was directed against their right flank. The advance was resumed in this order, the German prisoner being forced to march in front. Almost at the outset, however, Bowen was shot by a sniper from the scrub. Buller rendered first aid, and carried his commanding officer, who was seriously wounded, into the shade at the side of the road. Hill took over the command and continued to attack the trench, making gradual progress. Meanwhile he sent back Buller to bring up the reinforcements expected from the Berrima; his message reached the reinforcements, about a mile back, at noon.

When Elwell commenced his advance from Kabakaul, the day was windless and hot—so hot that, on landing, his men emptied rations, blankets, and clothing out of their haversacks to lighten the load. As they formed up, Elwell took command and went on with the right half-company, Gillam following with the left half in support. Gunner Yeo, to whom Buller had passed on Bowen's message for reinforcements, guided them to the Bitapaka road. About a mile from the shore they were fired on, either by one of the patrols sent out by Wuchert earlier in the morning, or by a detachment from Mayer's company at Takubar. Elwell, who knew nothing of

³⁴ Gunner F. R. Sandys; R.N.; b. Plaistow, Essex, Eng., 24 May, 1881.



THE ADVANCE TOWARDS BITAPAKA, SHOWING ENEMY DISPOSITIONS AT 9 A.M. ON THE 11TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1914

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the location of Bowen's party except that it must be fighting somewhere ahead of him, thereupon decided to send scouts into the bush on each side, and to proceed quickly with his main body along the road in fours, since reports were coming from the connecting files left by Hill that Bowen was hard pressed. The dust of a long drought was deep under their feet, and rose in fine clouds, choking their nostrils and filling their eyes: but the reinforcements pushed eagerly on. Inasmuch as those who were forcing their way through closematted jungle and undergrowth could not keep up with men advancing on the highway, patrols of six men at a time were sent along the road ahead of the company; from these, fresh scouts deployed as the others were overtaken, and the men left behind fell in and formed a rearguard under Signalboatswain Hunter.²⁵ The reinforcements had advanced this manner for about forty minutes when they again came under fire from some enemy in the bush on the right front whom they could not see. Able Seaman Courtney26 was shot dead near a sharp bend in the track. The company therefore immediately extended into the bush on the left and advanced through the jungle, Elwell, with half the company, leading and Gillam following him with the other half extended in They still could see nothing whatever of any friend or enemy ahead, but bullets—probably from natives near by in the scrub—constantly flew past. Two of Gillam's half-company were wounded, and a few yards farther on Signalman Moffatt²⁷ and Able Seaman Skillen²⁸ fell. same juncture there occurred an incident of some importance.

One of Moffatt's mates crawled to Gillam and reported that he had seen Moffatt collapse, and believed that he had been shot by a native soldier whom he had observed in a Gillam ordered the man to go back and shoot this native and then advance. The seaman reached the tree and was peering into its branches when a native, who must have been hiding in the dense undergrowth at its foot,

²⁵ Lieut -Commr. W. D. Hunter, R.A.N. Of Surrey Hills, Vic.; b. Melbourne, I. Dec., 1887 Died, 5 Aug., 1934.

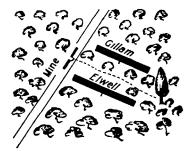
26 Able Seaman J. E. Walker; R.A.N.R. (served as J. Courtney). Stoker; of Ross Island, Townsville, O'land. Killed in action, 11 Sept., 1914.

27 Signalman R. D. Moffatt; R.A.N.R. Engineer. of Sydney; b. Lostwithiel, Cornwall, Eng., Dec., 1894 Killed in action, 11 Sept., 1914.

28 Able Seaman D. S. Skillen. Labourer; of Sydney; b. Ardrossan, Scotland.

actually grabbed at his rifle. With a struggle the seaman regained it, and shot the native as he ran.

The native had no rifle. But about this time one of the seamen reported that he had come upon wires laid through the bush to the foot of this tree, about 120 yards



from the road. It was at once suspected that these wires led to a mine, probably beneath the road. Signal-boatswain Hunter, sent to make a search, found that the tree was in fact a look-out station; by means of dog-spikes driven into the trunk and a rope fastened to an upper branch, it could easily be climbed. Near its foot, at the end of the wires, was an electric battery and firing-key, and the intention appeared to be that an observer high in the tree should warn a German below, in charge of the firing-key, if any enemy troops were approaching. It is highly probable that the native who was shot was the observer. The German was not in position and the Australians, working through the bush and not along the road, had actually passed the mine when it was discovered. Elwell, however, saw to it that the wires were cut and the key removed.²⁹

Almost immediately after this, Elwell began to come upon signs of Bowen's and Hill's parties, now close ahead and held up by Kempf's troops in the trench. Pushing on, about 250 yards from the still unseen trench, the reinforcements reached some of Hill's men, who raised a cheer. Elwell, meeting Hill, ascertained that most of the attacking force was on the left of the road. He decided to leave Hill on that side and, calling on his men to follow, ran across to the right. Gillam, still on the left, recognised that great care must now be exercised in order to avoid shooting the men of his own side (of whom he only twice caught a glimpse—a white fleck seen for an instant in the scrub). He accordingly ordered his half-company to

²⁰ On 4 Jan., 1915, a 21-foot tube of dynamite was dug up at this point—and was exploded where it lay—by a working party. On the following day, while the party was filling in the crater thus made, Lieut. Bond discovered wires leading to a point 25 yards from the exploded mine. A second tube, filled with dynamite was then found, and to avoid damaging the road, was exploded in the bush.



THE BITAPAKA ROAD—POSITION OF THE FIRST TRENCH

Lent by Lieut-Col B B R Batson 4 V & M E F Taken in 1914

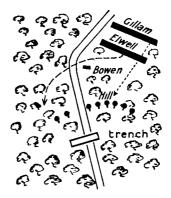


German look-out tree commanding view of the Bitapaka road

The rope used for climbing can be seen

Aust War Memorial Official Photo. No 13086. Taken in 1919

cease fire and to push on so as to get into alignment with Elwell, at the same time closing somewhat towards the road. Although he had not yet heard of the trench, the slight change of direction actually brought his party towards it. At this stage he was taken by Buller to where Bowen was lying wounded and dazed but with just sufficient consciousness to be able to explain that he had



handed over command to Hill. Bullets were continually thudding into the log behind which they sheltered; and Bowen, being under the impression that he was dying, extracted from Gillam a promise that the Chinese guide should not be handed back to the Germans, and that a pair of Zeiss glasses borrowed from a German officer whom he had taken prisoner should be returned. His advice was, he repeated, to scour the right-hand side of the road. Gillam sent for the ambulance to pick up Bowen, and pushed on to get into line with Elwell. Strangely enough Hill's men, with their ragged dress and variety of weapons, had suffered no casualties, the native troops having been instructed to fire at men in khaki armed with rifles and at soldiers in helmets (officers); especially, it would seem, were officers to be picked off. The fire from the trench was sweeping the straight stretch of road, which in one part ran through a cutting whose sheer banks were topped with bush so trammelling as to render an advance in extended order difficult. As Elwell's company came up, Hill's force was working round

to outflank the position; at I o'clock Elwell took over command from Hill—who was directed to continue his advance on the left flank of the attack. Elwell himself advanced on the right to within eighty yards of the trench. Here, after giving the order to fix bayonets and charge, he was shot



dead, drawn sword in hand, at the head of his men. appears to have believed, even before he pressed Beresford for permission to land, that this would be his fate. Hill, who had discarded the badges and uniform of an officer and fought in shirt and trousers, was thus again (although he did not know it) in command of the attacking force. But the end came almost immediately after the shot which killed Elwell. With the arrival of the reinforcing company Kempf's position had become untenable; his troops were far outnumbered, the trench was outflanked on both sides, and escape was threatened. The natives began to cower at the bottom of the trench and, with few exceptions, could not be induced to look over the parapet to take aim. At about half-past I p.m. a white flag went up in the trench.⁸⁰ Hill immediately gave the order to cease fire, and Kempf came out of the trench to parley. He asked for the officer in command, and refused to deal with Hill, whose lack of badges and uniform made it incredible to a German that he should be an officer at all. Hill and Gillam thereupon decided to take Kempf, and two other Germans who had left the trench with him, back to meet Commander Beresford, who was known to be on his way up from Kabakaul; at the same time they withdrew the Australians under their command, since all opposition seemed now to be crushed. Beresford was found about a mile down the road, and to him Kempf-after a long discussion and with great reluctance—surrendered both the wireless station and what was left of his defending force.31 To make the surrender effective Beresford decided that Kempf and his fellow-prisoner Sergeant Ritter (the latter as interpreter) should accompany the troops under Bond towards Bitapaka, in order to explain to any German troops met on the way that the fighting was over, and to prevent further So Bond with a half-company of No. 6, and Harcus with his machine-gun section, accompanied by Travers, and taking with them Kempf and Ritter and a flag of truce, set forward along the dusty bush road.

In consequence of the discovery of a mine close to the first trench, Bond approached this stretch of the road with caution

³⁰ Von Klewitz alleges that the white flag was shown by the Australian troops. This, of course, is untrue.

³¹ A translation of the instructions found on Kempf is given in Appendix No. 3.

THE BITAPAKA ROAD—SITE OF THE SECOND TRENCH

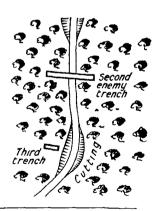
The position and length of this trench are marked by the line of men. The photograph was taken in September, 1914, immediately after the trench had been filled in (see also $Vol.\ XII$, plate 10a)

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Although the wires had been cut and the firing-key removed by No. 3 Company, he considered it possible that other means of exploding the mine had been devised. He therefore placed Kempf on the mined portion of the road while the Australians marched over it. When they drew near the first trench, Kempf and Ritter went on a short distance ahead with the flag of truce, and Kempf, explaining the position to the occupants (6 Germans and about 20 natives), ordered them to surrender. They were at first defiant, and refused to obey; but the sight of Bond's preparations for attack daunted them-they surrendered, and were mustered and sent under guard to Kabakaul.

Bond then pushed forward to the second trench, the machine-gun section following in the rear. Along this stretch of about two miles there was some desultory sniping from the bush, but the Australians suffered no casualties. At the second trench no opposition was offered by its occupants— 3 Germans and 20 natives—the white flag being hoisted as soon as Bond's troops appeared. The troops were halted on the road while Bond disarmed the occupants of the trench and Travers and Kempf walked on ahead towards the wireless While Bond was thus occupied, shots rang out, station.

apparently from a third trench constructed at the top of a steep cutting at the side of the road and commanding the second trench. Ritter, the German interpreter, was seen endeavouring to rally the natives who had just surrendered to Bond. A brisk exchange of fire took place, and in the skirmish three of Bond's men—Able Seamen Tonks,82 Sullivan,38 and Street84were wounded, the last-named mortally, and the German sergeant. Ritter and several natives were'



²² Able Seaman J. H. Tonks. Labourer; b Port Adelaide, 14 Sept., 1880 (After recovering from his wound he enlisted in the Aust. artillery, with which he served in France as a gunner.)

13 Able Seaman T. Sullivan. Labourer; of Upper Mitcham, S. Aust.; b. London,

⁵ Feb, 1877.

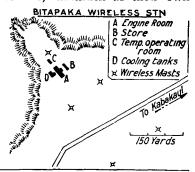
³⁴ Able Seaman H. W. Street. Killed in action, 11 Sept., 1914.

killed. The rest of the enemy troops were then disarmed and taken prisoners. Kempf and the three Germans who had been just captured took no part in the affair.

Leaving his company with Harcus at the second trench to guard against any further outbreak at this point (a machine-gun was also mounted there), Bond, accompanied by Travers and Eitel³⁵—an interpreter chosen from the machine-gun section—walked on towards the wireless station, taking Kempf with them to explain the position. On the way they captured a German cyclist armed with a rifle and carrying a message from Haber—an order to the Bitapaka garrison to dismantle the wireless station and retire on Toma. Farther on they took another prisoner, a German on horseback with a message signed by von Klewitz stating that 800 men were marching inland (this was, of course, an echo of Mauderer's report). The mounted man was sent on by Kempf to the wireless station with news of the surrender and a message that further opposition would be futile.

At the police barracks 1,000 yards from the wireless station a party of eight Germans and twenty native troops was encountered. The Germans were armed with magazine pistols and the natives with rifles. Kempf ordered this force to surrender, but they defied his command. Bond, warning Travers to stand by with his revolver, turned quickly to the group of Germans and snatched their pistols from their holsters. So surprised were they by this sudden and daring act that they were unable to defend themselves, while the native troops were powerless to fire, inasmuch as their own

officers were between them and the three Australians. The position forced an immediate surrender. The prisoners were marched off wireless station. the found to which was abandoned, and here were kept under guard by Bond, Travers, and Eitel half-an-hour later,

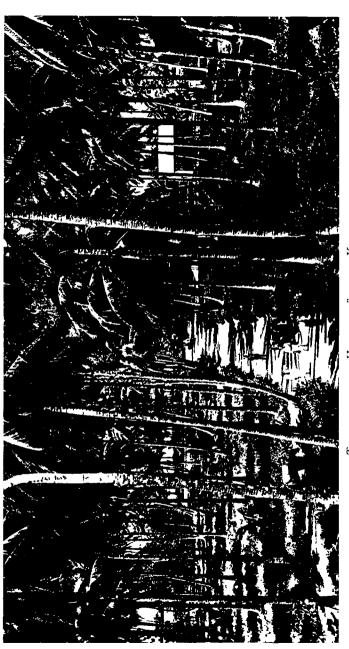


²⁵ Cpl C C. Eitel (No. 45, A N. & M.E.F.). Journalist; of Sydney; b. Neutral Bay, N S W., 1880



THE BITAPAKA ROAD-VIEW FROM THE SFCOND TRENCH

Aust War Memonal Official Photo No 13085 Taken in 1919



THE ROAD FROM HERBERTSHÖHE TO KABAKAUL

This road, running through a elecant plantation, was traversed by Watson's force on the 11th of September, 1914.

Taken in 1918 by T J McMahon, Esq.

Midshipman Buller arrived with reinforcements. Bond and Travers then made an inspection of the station: they found that the masts³⁶ had been cut through, but that the machinery and instruments had not been damaged. Thus about 7 o'clock the station fell into the hands of the Australians.

From the German official report it appears that about noon Dr. Haber had dictated a message to Bitapaka ordering the attack signal (two dots and two dashes with wireless telegraphic names interpolated) to be sent to the German fleet; if the fighting appeared to be unfavourable to the Germans, the masts of the station were then to be lowered, and the apparatus dismantled. The officials were to abandon the station and proceed to Toma, taking with them the receiving apparatus and everything necessary to complete the reserve wireless station at Taulil. This message failed to reach the chief telegraphist at the station, and during the afternoon all telephonic communication between Toma and Bitapaka was interrupted by a German planter who, in a state of nervous excitement, cut the wires where they traversed his plantation at Paparatava. It was not until late in the afternoon that the wireless officials received Haber's noon message; they obeyed it. but took to flight thereafter too hastily to allow time for removal of the apparatus. Bond took possession of the instruments and brought them back with him next day to Kabakaul.

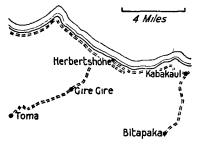
Beyond the fact that the advance on Bitapaka was being contested, no definite information as to the progress of Bowen's party or of the reinforcements had, during the forenoon, reached Colonel Holmes in the Berrima, which still lay off Kabakaul. Shortly after II o'clock a request was received from the shore that a medical officer should be sent from the Berrima to attend to a wounded German, and soon afterwards information was received that Captain Pockley and Able Seaman Williams had been seriously wounded and were being sent aboard. Just on 2 o'clock a message arrived from the Sydney at Herbertshöhe, stating that nothing had been heard of Webber's party since early in the morning. Colonel Holmes thereupon decided to put a force ashore at Herbertshöhe. Lieutenant-Colonel Watson was directed to land with four companies of infantry, a machine-gun section, and a

The mast erected by the Germans was 150 feet high, and the jury mast 120. Both had been dropped.

12-pounder gun, to gain touch with Webber's party, and co-operate with Beresford's force in the attack on the wireless station. The Berrima moved up to Herbertshöhe, and Watson's force was landed in her boats. It was by then 3 o'clock. Holmes went aboard the flagship, and recommended to the admiral that the remainder of the force still in the Berrima should be landed at Kabakaul to reinforce Beresford; that, if it appeared that the operation would not be successful before dark (which in these latitudes comes swiftly and without twilight soon after 6 o'clock), instructions should be given to Beresford and Watson to retire to the coast before nightfall; that next morning at daylight the fleet should shell with shrapnel the ridge between Kabakaul and Herbertshöhe, which seemed to be strongly held; and that immediately thereafter the forces at Kabakaul and Herbertshöhe should attack simultaneously and carry the positions. The admiral concurred in these plans.

After landing his force at Herbertshöhe—an operation which in the circumstances naturally took a considerable time —Watson attempted to proceed across country towards Bitapaka. He was still near the coast when he found the country ahead almost impenetrable jungle and forest. It was already late in the afternoon; progress in that terrain was difficult, slow, and uncertain. Nothing could be done that day, and the force returned the same night to its base at Herbertshöhe in accordance with instructions. To that place Webber also returned by nightfall with his twenty-five men. They had reconnoitred the Toma road as far as Gire Gire

(about half-way between Herbertshöhe and Toma), but had been unable to find any trace of, or information about, the site of a wireless station. This second station, it will be remembered, was supposed to lie about four miles directly inland from Her-



bertshöhe on a good motor road. The only road answering to the description was the one Webber was on, and on

arrival at Gire Gire he came to the conclusion, from the distance traversed, either that he had overshot his mark or that the information was erroneous. He accordingly decided to return to Herbertshöhe. From German reports it appears that Webber's party had been under surveillance by a detachment of the German forces from Toma, which had not, however, ventured to attack.

About 6 o'clock that evening Sir George Patey received from the Acting Governor a reply⁸⁷ to his letter of the early morning. It read as follows:—

Imperial Governor of

German New Guinea.

Toma, 11th September, 1914.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of to-day.

The administration of the German Protectorates devolves on His Majesty the Kaiser in the name of the Empire. In my capacity as Acting Governor, I have not the authority to surrender the Protectorates to Your Excellency. Also, it appears to me impossible to open negotiations about a modus vivendi during the state of war which exists, since Your Excellency has already opened hostilities. For the same reason I am also compelled to abstain from any interference with wireless operations.

I have noted the fact that Your Excellency contemplates a military occupation of Rabaul and Herbertshöhe. Both places and their precincts are unprotected. There are women and children there. The townspeople are going peacefully about their business. Also you have my explicit assurance that there are no mines in the harbour of Rabaul and the roadstead of Herbertshöhe. I should, therefore, be glad if Your Excellency would refrain from hostile operations against the said places, and would permit the local administration, even after occupation by Your Excellency's troops, to look after the public order and safety.

en The German rendering is given in Appendix No. 4.

I take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency of my highest esteem.

I have the honour to be.

E. HABER.

Acting Governor of New Guinea.

His Excellency Rear-Admiral Patev. Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty's Australian Fleet.

By the time this letter was received the operation orders of Captain von Klewitz, the officer commanding the German forces, were known: papers had been found on Mayer when he was taken prisoner. It will be remembered that these orders gave the disposition of the various detachments and assigned code names for the principal positions: thus the Herbertshöhe force was termed "Lüttich," and the Bitapaka force "Bebra." With this information in his possession the admiral considered that Dr. Haber's letter misrepresented the actual position and evaded the real issues. He therefore sent a reply⁸⁸ couched in the following very definite terms:—

H.M.A.S. Australia.

At Rabaul.

Your Excellency.

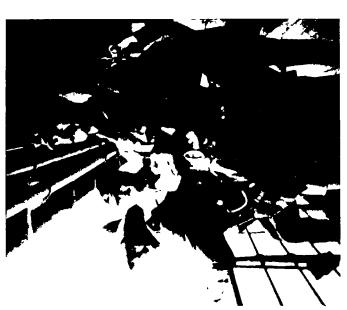
12th September 1914.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 11th September 1914.

With regard to the statement therein as to my having already opened hostilities, I would point out to Your Excellency that my letter was sent ashore at 7.0 a.m. on 11th September. Owing, however, to Your Excellency having proceeded to Toma, I was unable to get into communication with any representative of your Government except by sending to Toma. Consequently your answer did not reach me until 6.0 p.m. on that day.

I would remark that if Your Excellency had arranged an effective means of communication between Toma. where you had gone, and Herbertshöhe, which I understand was still then the seat of your Government, 39 it should not have taken eleven hours to exchange letters over a distance of under 20 miles.

³⁸ Patey's letter was in both English and German. The German version is given in Appendix No. 4.
38 Herbertshohe had, as a matter of fact, ceased to be the seat of government when Rabaul became the capital in 1910.



THE LANDING AT KABAKAUL

The staff on the Berruma watching the disembarkation Lett to right Colonel W Holmes, Lieutenaut-Colonels W W. R. Watson and J. Paton, and Captain S P Goodsell





THE MACHINE-GUN SECTION OF THE 1ST BATTALION, AN & MEF, M. PALM ISLANDS, AUGUST 1014

Taken by F S Burnell, Fog

The responsibility for the greater part of the fighting that has occurred must lie upon the lack of a proper means of communication between your seat of Government and the locality selected by Your Excellency as a residence at the time the British Forces appeared—and moreover Your Excellency continued to allow your wireless installation to be used for hostile purposes despite my written warning to you, contained in the third paragraph of my letter of 11th September, that this was to cease.

With regard to your statement that the areas of jurisdiction of Rabaul and Herbertshöhe are unprotected, I have in my possession a document, signed by Sub-Commander von Klewitz detailing Military Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers, by name, to act with the armed forces at Bebra, Paparatava, Raluana, and Luttick—one of the Officers named thereon is at present a prisoner. The date of this document is 21st of August 1914. Moreover the ground fought over on 11th September was trenched and mined. It therefore appears either that you were unaware of the actions of Sub-Commander von Klewitz or that that Officer acted contrary to your orders. Your Excellency's attention is invited to the point involved.

Communications as to transferring control of the Administration should now be addressed to Colonel Holmes, Brigadier of the Occupying Force, who will administer the Government.

I have sent that Officer a copy of your letter to me and of this reply.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

GEORGE E. PATEY,

Rear-Admiral Commanding H.M. Australian Fleet. His Excellency,

The Governor of German New Guinea.

The evening wore on, and no word had come through from Bond or Travers. Nine o'clock passed without tidings of them or of the capture of the wireless station. No. 6 Company of the Naval Reserve and Harcus's machine-gun section had remained at the second trench, but had neither seen nor heard anything of Bond's party. Beresford, with the other companies of the Naval Reserve, was at the Kabakaul cross-roads. and some time after o o'clock received instructions to retire with his forces to the beach, as the ridge would be shelled at daylight. He therefore sent Midshipman Stirling⁴¹ with the left half of No. 3 Company (which knew the road) to find Bond and Travers, and order No. 6 Company and the machine-gun section to retire on Kabakaul. But late at night a message came through from Bond that his party was in possession of the wireless station and would remain there pending further instructions. Beresford had this information signalled to the Warrego, which communicated it to the flagship. The admiral received the news at I o'clock in the morning, and an intimation was promptly sent on to Colonel Holmes.

The position was now clearly defined. The Bitapaka section of the German forces had surrendered to Beresford during the afternoon, and the wireless station itself had been handed over to Bond and Travers. These factors cleared up the situation on the Bitapaka sector, unless the enemy should attempt to recover his lost ground by further operations directed towards that place. There was, however, no indication of any such movement, and when day broke on September 12th the necessity no longer existed for shelling the Kabakaul-Herbertshöhe ridge.

As the wireless station had been put out of action by the Germans prior to its capture, and there was little chance of effecting repairs for some time to come, Admiral Patey. after consultation with Colonel Holmes, gave instructions that it should be abandoned; the party in possession was to retire to the coast, taking with it such essential instruments as would preclude the repair or further use of the installation.

⁴⁴ Engr.-Lieut, J. P. Stirling; R.A.N.R. Marine engineer; of Carrington, N.S.W.; b. Carrington, 1 July, 1894.



THE BITAPAKA ROAD—DIGGING UP THE MINES, 4TH JANUARY, 1915

To face p 72

Taken at Herbertshohe, September 1914. The machine-gun section is on the left of the picture. In front (from left to right). Lieutenant B. T. Goadby, Lieutenant-Commander L. S. Bracegurdle, Lieutenants O. W. Gillam, C. H. Read, and Signal-Boatswain. W. D. Hunter. Men of the Naval Reserve, and machine-gun section, 1st Battalion, A.N. & M.E.F.

The casualties among the Australians were 2 officers and 4 men killed, and I officer and 3 men wounded. The proportion of the number killed to that of the wounded bears evidence to the closeness of the fighting, and in view of the nature of the terrain, the losses were lighter than might have been expected. Steady troops in those entrenched and picked positions could have taken heavy toll of advancing parties, who in unknown country had at every turn to meet the fire of an unseen enemy at close range. But the morale of the native constabulary had been unequal to the test of facing disciplined white troops, and with all the advantages of cover and prepared positions had proved a failure. The German official report admits that the capacity of the Australians to fight in bush country had been underestimated; and it is known that the advance in extended order disconcerted the Germans, who had expected it to be confined to the narrow line of the road, and had not contemplated the effect on native soldiers of white troops emerging suddenly from the bush and attacking them in flank and rear. Apart from this factor, the method of advancing partly along the road and partly through the bush had minimised the chances of heavy casualties. The Australians were also fortunate in escaping the mines on the road. When these mines were afterwards located by the occupying force, they were found powerful enough to have caused great loss of life. Each consisted of an iron pipe, four inches in diameter and twenty-one feet in length, packed with plugs of dynamite, and placed lengthwise along the middle of the road, four or five feet deep. Nuts. bolts, and stones had been piled over the pipes, the trench had been filled in, and the surface of the road made smooth again. When the first mine was eventually exploded, the hole made in the road was twenty-seven feet long, fifteen in width, and seven in depth; according to Lieutenant Gillam, "it took a company of men a day to fill it." second mine was therefore lifted out and exploded in the bush.

In a despatch dated the 13th of September, 1914, Colonel Holmes, after giving the names of the officers and men who fell and of those who were wounded, states:

"From information received by me up to the present in the absence of Commander Beresford's report, the three officers referred to "-Captain Pockley, Lieutenant-Commander Elwell. and Lieutenant Bowen-"also Lieutenant Bond who accepted the surrender of the station and Captain Travers (Intelligence Officer) who accompanied him, acted in a very gallant Captain Pockley removed the red cross badge from his arm and handed it over to one of his men who was without one, and paid the penalty with his life.

I wish to specially mention these five officers."

On the German side the casualties were officially reported as one white non-commissioned officer and 3042 native soldiers killed, and one white non-commissioned officer and 10 native soldiers wounded. The prisoners taken were 3 officers, 16 white non-commissioned officers and men, and 56 native troops. A number of native soldiers had fled into the bush during the fighting: some of these during the next few days found their way to the German headquarters at Toma.

On the 12th Beresford was ordered to move his force to Herbertshöhe and garrison that place, in accordance with the original dispositions made during the voyage. His garrison consisted of four companies of the Naval Reserve, two companies of infantry, one 12-pounder gun from the Sydney, one machine-gun section, and a detachment of the Army Medical Corps. Watson's force, which had been landed at Herbertshöhe on the previous day, was re-embarked in the During the afternoon the troopship was escorted up Blanche Bay, and about 6 o'clock made fast to the long wharf at Rabaul. A force consisting of four companies of infantry, one company of the Naval Reserve, one machinegun section, and a detachment of the Army Medical Corps. was landed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Paton.43 Rabaul was occupied without opposition: all government offices were seized, and the German flags hauled down. force remained ashore to garrison the town.

The remaining ships of the convoy reached Blanche Bay during the forenoon of the 12th, and proceeded to Simpson

⁴² These figures are avowedly approximate. Native losses could not be ascertained accurately, and von Klewitz repeatedly uses "etwa"—"about."

⁴³ Maj.-Gen. J. Paton, C.B., C.M.G., V.D. Commanded 7th Inf Bde., A.I.F., 1915/17; 6th Inf. Bde., A.I.F., 1917/18. Merchant; of Newcastle, N.S.W.; b. Newcastle, 18 Nov., 1867.

Harbour, where the *Parramatta*, *Upolu*, and *Protector* lay off Rabaul. On the same day the *Melbourne* arrived, and reported that on September 9th she had destroyed the wireless station at Nauru. On September 13th the hospital ship *Grantala*, which had made the voyage from Australia without escort, joined the ships in the bay.

It will be remembered that in his letter of September 12th the admiral had stated that communications as to transferring control of the administration should for the future be addressed to the brigadier of the occupying force. As a first step towards settling the control of public affairs, Holmes on September 12th forwarded by motor-cycle orderly to Dr. Haber a formal demand for surrender. The messenger returned the same night with a letter from a German official stating that Dr. Haber's answer would be sent at half-past 4 p.m. on the following day. Holmes thereupon decided that, if the answer were not satisfactory, or if Haber did not call in person in accordance with his request, a force would be despatched to arrest him.

At 3 o'clock on Sunday afternoon, September 13th, the British flag was hoisted at Rabaul.

The ceremony was held in an open space (now known as Proclamation Square) bordered by casuarina trees and overlooked by white tropical bungalows. Through the trees could be seen the blue waters of the bay sparkling in the sunlight, and the ships of the Australian fleet riding at anchor. All available troops, including a newly-enrolled native police force under British officers, were formed up on three sides of a square, facing the flagstaff, with the band of the Australia in the centre. The fourth side of the square was occupied by Rear-Admiral Patey, the officers of the Royal Australian Navy, and residents of Rabaul. Punctually at 3 o'clock the flag was broken by Lieutenant Basil Holmes and saluted by the troops, the warships at the same time firing a salute of twenty-one guns. The national anthem was sung; three cheers were given for the King; the military occupation of the Territory was

^{**} These letters, together with Haber's reply, are reproduced in Appendix No. 4.

** Lieut.-Col. B. Holmes, D.S O; 17th Bn., A.I.F. (afterwards Indian Army).

Orchardist; of Sydney; b. Sydney, 11 Sept., 1892.

formally proclaimed⁴⁶ by the brigade-major, and the naval and military officers and troops, followed by the native police force. marched past in column of route and saluted the flag.

Copies of the proclamation issued by Colonel Holmes, in English and German,47 were posted in conspicuous places in

Rabaul and Herbertshöhe The text is here given:

PROCLAMATION.

Proclamation on behalf of His Majesty George the Fifth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Dominions Overseas. King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

By Colonel WILLIAM HOLMES, D.S.O., V.D., Brigadier Commanding His Majesty's Australian Naval

and Military Expeditionary Force.

WHEREAS the Forces under my command have occupied the Island of New Britain;

AND WHEREAS upon such occupation the authority of the German Government has ceased to exist therein:

AND WHEREAS it has become essential to provide for proper government of the said colony, and for the protection of the lives and property of the peaceful inhabitants thereof.

PROCLAMATION.

All boys belongina one place, you savvy big master he come now, he new feller master, he strong feller too much, you look him, all ship stop place; he small feller ship belongina him. Plenty more big feller he stop place belongina him, now he come here he take all place. He look out good you feller. Now he like you feller look out good alonga him. Suppose other feller master, he been speak you "You no work alonga new feller master," he gammon. Suppose you work good with this new feller master he look out good alonga you, he look out you get plenty good feller kai-kai; he no fighting black boy alonga nothing. alonga nothing.

alonga nothing.

You look him new feller flag, you savvy him? He belonga British (English); he more better than other feller, suppose you been making paper before this new feller master come, you finish time belonga him first, you like make him new feller paper longa man belonga new feller master he look out good alonga with you, he give good feller kai kai. Suppose you no look out good alonga him, he cross too much. British (English) new feller master he like him black feller man too much. He like him all same you piccanin alonga him. You get black feller master belongina you, he all same Police Master. You look out place alonga with him he look out place alonga with you. You no steal Mary belongina other feller black man. He finish talk alonga with you soon. By and by ship belongina new feller master he come and look out place belongina you. You look out him now belongina place belongina you, you speak him all the same.

Me been talk with you now, now you give three good feller cheers belongina new feller master.

⁶⁶ The announcement of the annexation was conveyed to the natives by the following proclamation, read to them in somewhat unorthodox pidgin English at Rabaul on Sept. 12.— PROCLAMATION.

new feller master.

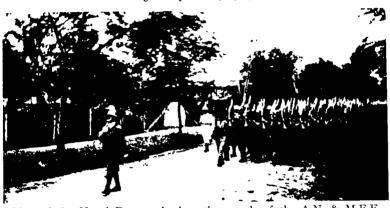
No More 'Um Kaiser. God save 'Um King.

Kai-kai-Pidgin English for food.

See Appendix No. 5.



Arrival of Colonel Holmes and staff at Preclamation Square, Rabaul, 13th September, 1914.



Men of the Naval Reserve leading the march of the AN. & M.E.F. through Rabaul after the hoisting of the Union Jack, 13th September, 1914. Colonel Watson is at the head of the column, and Commander R S Lambton (in white) beside the troops.



German residents watching the march of the A.N. & M.E.F. through

THE OCCUPATION OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA

- Now I, WILLIAM HOLMES, Companion of the Distinguished Service Order, Colonel in His Majesty's Forces, Brigadier Commanding the aforesaid Expeditionary Force, do hereby declare and proclaim as follows:—
 - (1) From and after the date of these presents, the Island of New Britain and its dependencies are held by me in military occupation in the name of His Majesty the King.
 - (2) War will be waged only against the armed forces of the German Empire and its Allies in the present war.
 - (3) The lives and private property of peaceful inhabitants will be protected, and the laws and customs of the colony will remain in force so far as is consistent with the military situation.
 - (4) If the needs of the troops demand it, private property may be requisitioned. Such property will be paid for at its fair value.
 - (5) Certain officials of the late Government may be retained, if they so desire, at their usual salaries.
 - (6) In return for such protection it is the duty of all inhabitants to behave in an absolutely peaceful manner, to carry on their ordinary pursuits so far as is possible, to take no part directly or indirectly in any hostilities, to abstain from communication with His Majesty's enemies, and to render obedience to such orders as may be promulgated.
 - (7) All male inhabitants of European origin are required to take the oath of neutrality prescribed, at the garrison headquarters; and all firearms, ammunition, and war material in the possession or control of inhabitants are to be surrendered forthwith, as is also all public property of the late Government.

- (8) Non-compliance with the terms of this Proclamation, and disobedience of such orders as from time to time may be promulgated, will be dealt with according to military law.
- (9) It is hereby notified that this Proclamation takes effect in the whole Island of New Britain and its dependencies from this date.

Given at Government House, RABAUL, this twelfth day of September, 1914.

WILLIAM HOLMES.

Brigadier Commanding.

Witness—Francis Heritage, Major, Brigade Major.

Later in the afternoon Holmes received a reply⁴⁸ from the Acting Governor. Dr. Haber repeated his previous statement that no resistance would be offered to the occupation, but that he had not the authority to surrender New Britain or any other part of the German Protectorate. He would, however, have no objection to meeting Colonel Holmes and discussing the situation. Holmes considered the reply unsatisfactory, and, as the address on the letter indicated that Haber had retired to Baining, formed the opinion that he was merely temporising in order to arrange an escape. He therefore decided, after consultation with the admiral, to send a force from Herbertshöhe to clear up the situation and arrest Haber. For this purpose Watson, who had previously been instructed to proceed in the Encounter from Rabaul to Herbertshöhe with two companies of infantry to reinforce the garrison there, was ordered to march from Herbertshöhe at 5 a.m. next day towards Toma with one 12-pounder gun, a machine-gun and crew from the Encounter, and four companies of infantry. It was arranged that at daylight the Encounter should shell a position between Herbertshöhe and Toma, which, judging from a captured map, was believed to be occupied by German forces, and that, as soon as the shelling had ceased. Watson should commence his advance.

On the morning of September 14th the Encounter's 6-inch guns shelled an outlying ridge near Toma, and Watson then pushed on along the Toma road. His advance was not opposed: no enemy forces were seen, with the exception of native constabulary, and these were dispersed by a few shells from the 12-pounder. The Encounter's guns and the advance of the troops had produced the desired effect, and before Watson reached Toma he was met by a flag of truce from Haber, who offered to come in and confer with the officer commanding the occupying force, and in the meantime requested an armistice of four hours. This concession was at first refused: it was finally agreed that Haber should come to Herbertshöhe at 11 o'clock the following morning to discuss the situation with Colonel Holmes. Watson's force, which had reached Toma in the afternoon and carried out reconnaissances of the Wunakokor Ridge, began its return march as soon as the parleys were ended, and the troops bivouacked at Herbertshöhe that night.

On the morning of September 15th Holmes, accompanied by Stevenson and the members of his staff, proceeded from Rabaul to Herbertshöhe. There at the District Office headquarters—a white bungalow with a wide trellised verandah, shaded by poinciana trees and commanding a view over Blanche Bay and across to the mountains of New Irelandthe meeting with Haber took place. While the terms of surrender were being discussed, a cruiser flying the tricolour of France passed before them in full view, making up the bay towards Rabaul. It was the French flagship Montcalm, with Rear-Admiral Huguet on board. She had helped to convoy the New Zealand expeditionary force to Samoa, and was now co-operating with the Australian fleet in New Guinea waters. Holmes drew Haber's attention to the presence of the French flagship. This manifestation of identity of policy between Great Britain and France cannot have been lost upon the German. The negotiations continued into the afternoon and were, as Haber afterwards stated, "neither pleasant nor very easy." Holmes was firm; but, considering the strength of his military position, it must be admitted that he was scrupulously just and reasonable. With the knowledge that he had the other side at his mercy, he declined to take the

easier way of high-handed action. He framed his proposals in accordance with what he deemed to be the Imperial policy, and in conformity with the laws relating to the military occupation of enemy territory. He had regard not only to the existing conditions of the Territory but also to its future welfare, in the patriotic conviction that the British flag in New Guinea would never be hauled down. Before the end of the conference the parties had arrived at a general basis of agreement, and certain conditions of surrender were tentatively agreed to; but Haber, stating that he desired to consult with his advisers before signing the document, took with him a draft of the proposals, and arranged to meet Holmes again at Herbertshöhe on September 17th for a final settlement.

It is clear from a perusal of the German official reports that the developments in the military situation from September 14th were the decisive factors in bringing the Governor to terms. No reliance could be placed upon the native troops in action against white soldiers; the Australians had displayed an unsuspected capacity for bush fighting, and the sense of comparative security afforded by the nature of the country had thus been destroyed. With Herbertshöhe occupied by a strong garrison, the Germans were cut off from the resources of the settled coastal district, while the Australians possessed a base from which an attack could be launched at any time in the direction of Toma. It was also believed that the various approaches to Taulil were by that time known to the occupying force through intelligence gained from natives familiar with that tract of country. The shelling of the Toma ridge by the Encounter had shown that the outlying heights could not be held against artillery. Watson's advance on Toma had proved that field-guns could be brought up to command the Taulil plain, and that the German position there could be attacked by infantry converging by several routes and under cover of artillery. Moreover, the inaccessible Baining country offered no retreat, and the Australian ships could cut off any attempt to escape to the coast in the direction of Weber Harbour. Finally, the Germans were convinced of the hopelessness of further resistance to the overwhelming naval and military strength of the Australian forces. On September



Dr. Haber and Captain von Klewitz arriving at Herbertshohe on 17th September, 1914, to confer with Colonel Holmes regarding the terms of capitulation.



A German column arriving at Herbertshohe on 21st September, 1914, to surrender.



German and native troops drawn up at Herbertshohe, 21st September, 1914

THE CAPITULATION OF GURMAN NEW GUINEA

16th—the day before the negotiations were to be resumed von Klewitz rode from Vunadidir to Taulil and discussed with Haber the military clauses in the draft agreement. On his return to Vunadidir that evening he prepared and forwarded to his chief a report in which he stated that the native troops were demoralised, and that to keep them together as a military unit required the unceasing vigilance of the white soldiers, among whom many were disabled for military service by dysentery and malaria. He considered, therefore, that the troops were no longer in a condition to offer resistance. Later the same night he despatched a further report, in which he emphasised the sickness among the white soldiers and the difficulty of maintaining military discipline over the "thoroughly terrified natives," and stated his opinion that further action during the next few days would dissolve the force. He urged Haber to come without delay to Vunadidir; this Haber did early the following morning, inspected the troops, conferred with von Klewitz as to their condition and the general situation, and decided to take the commandant with him to Herbertshöhe.

Noon was the time appointed for resuming the discussion; but Holmes, coming from Rabaul, was delayed by a strong head wind which swept up the bay, and Haber has recorded that, when the stipulated hour passed and Holmes had not arrived, he feared that negotiations were broken off. The strain of the position was evidently beginning to tell on the German.

At this second conference, which lasted about two hours, the conditions which had previously been tentatively agreed to were confirmed. It was evident that the civilian officials and leading planters had brought their influence to bear, for Haber's efforts at the second meeting aimed at obtaining personal privileges of a financial nature for the Government officials—such as the right to return to Germany and the payment of three months' salary in advance—and at safeguarding the important agricultural interests in the Territory. The military position being regarded as hopeless, the terms imposed by Holmes in regard to the military occupation and the surrender of executive authority were not contested; von Klewitz's chief concern was to obtain the insertion of a

condition that, at the formal surrender of the German armed forces, military honours should be granted. All matters at issue having been finally adjusted, the terms of capitulation were duly signed, Dr. Haber's signature being attested by Captain von Klewitz and that of Colonel Holmes by Commander Stevenson. The full text of the document is as follows:—

TERMS OF CAPITULATION OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA:

Made this seventeenth day of September, 1914, between Colonel William Holmes, D.S.O., V.D., Brigadier Commanding the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force, on behalf of His Most Gracious Majesty King George the Fifth of the first part, and Herr E. Haber, Acting Governor of the German Possessions known as Deutsch Neu Guinea, on behalf of the Imperial German Government of the second part.

WHEREAS the principal centres of Deutsch Neu Guinea have been occupied by an overwhelming force under the command of the said Colonel Holmes;

And whereas the said Acting Governor has no authority to surrender any portion of the German Possessions under his administration, but in view of the said occupation by the said overwhelming force, the said Acting Governor is prepared to give an assurance that all military resistance to such occupation in Deutsch Neu Guinea shall cease forthwith.

NOW, the following terms and conditions are solemnly agreed upon between the said contracting parties:—

(1) The name Deutsch Neu Guinea (German New Guinea) includes the whole of the German Possessions in the Pacific Ocean lately administered from Rabaul by the said Acting Governor on behalf of the German Imperial Government, and the said Possessions are hereafter referred to as "The Colony."

- (2) All military resistance to the said military occupation of the Colony shall cease forthwith.
- (3) The armed German and Native forces now in the field are to be surrendered at Herbertshöhe on the 21st day of September at Ten (10) o'clock in the forenoon. Military honours will be granted.
- (4) Upon the said Acting Governor giving his parole to take no further part directly or indirectly in the present war, no obstacle will be placed in the way of his returning to Germany. Such parole shall not prevent the said Acting Governor from tendering to the Imperial Government at Berlin such advice as he may deem proper with regard to terms of peace.
- (5) Such officers of the said forces in the field as are officers of the German Regular Forces will be treated as prisoners of war in the usual manner. Such of the officers of the said forces as are not officers of the German Regular Forces, but whose usual occupation is civil, on taking an oath of neutrality for the duration of the present war, will be released and permitted to return to their homes and ordinary avocations, except where such avocations are official, in which case the provisions of paragraphs 10 and 11 hereof will apply.
- (6) As the said Acting Governor gives his assurance that none of the white Non-commissioned Officers and men now in the field belong to the Regular Forces of the German Empire, such white Non-commissioned Officers and men, upon taking the said oath of neutrality, will be released and permitted to resume their ordinary avocations, except where such

- avocations are official, in which case the terms of paragraphs 10 and 11 hereof will apply.
- (7) As it is understood that the safety of the white population depends to an extent on the existence of a Native Constabulary, that portion of the armed Native Constabulary which now forms part of the German Forces in the field, if found satisfactory, will be transferred to the Military Administration.
- (8) As the administration of the Colony during the military occupation will be conducted by the British Military Commander, all monies and properties of the late Administration are to be handed over to the said Colonel Holmes, Brigadier Commanding.
- (9) During the said military occupation the local laws and customs will remain in force so far as is consistent with the military situation.
- (10) As it is intended that administration shall be carried on under the control of British officers, subject to the succeeding paragraph, such only of the civil officials of the late German Administration as it may be considered necessary to retain in an advisory capacity will be continued in their offices. Officials so retained will be required to take the oath of neutrality and their former salaries will be continued. Officials not so retained, and those who refuse to take the said oath, will be deported to Australia, but will have no obstacle placed in the way of their returning thence to Germany as soon as is possible.
- (11) For the protection of the white population against the natives, the German officials now in charge of outlying portions of the Colony will continue in their official capacities until relieved by the Military Administration.



THE OCCUPATION OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA

"H" Company of the 1st Battalion, A.N. & M.E.F., on the wharf at Rabaul Lieutenants 1. B. Sherbon (left) and V. H. B. Sampson (right) are in front of the company.

Taken by F. & Burnell, Esq.



THE OCCUPATION OF MADANG, 24TH SEPTEMBER, 1914 Berrima in the distance (beyond sailing-boat)



AN OUTPOST AT MADANG, 1914

To face \$ 85.

(12) Any British subjects at present imprisoned, or held in duress in the said Colony, are to be released and returned to their homes and former positions forthwith. This does not apply to such persons (if any) who may be serving a sentence imposed by a Criminal Court of competent jurisdiction.

In witness whereof the said contracting parties of this first and second parts have hereunto set their hands this seventeenth day of September, 1914, at Herbertshöhe, New Britain.

E. HABER.

Witness to signature of E. Haber—von Klewitz.

WILLIAM HOLMES.

Witness to signature of William Holmes— J. B. Stevenson.

On September 20th a detachment of one officer and eleven reservists reached German headquarters from Port Weber. They had left Madang (Friedrich Wilhelm Harbour) for Herbertshöhe in the Government steamer Kolonial Gesellschaft, in response to the proclamation calling up men liable to serve in the armed forces of the Protectorate; the steamer had stranded on the reefs at Cape Lambert (on the north coast of New Britain), and the contingent had marched along the coast to Port Weber. They had with them a machine-gun. The circumstances were reported by Haber to the officer commanding the garrison at Herbertshöhe, and the party was sent in under a flag of truce to surrender.

In accordance with the terms of capitulation, the German troops still in the field—5 officers, 35 non-commissioned officers, and 110 native soldiers—marched from Toma into

Herbertshöhe on the morning of September 21st under the command of Captain von Klewitz, exchanged salutes with the British troops, and laid down their arms. Dr. Haber and the Government officials came to Herbertshöhe the same day. The executive and administrative authority in the Protectorate had passed into British hands.

To constitute effective military occupation of the Colony in accordance with the principles of international law, it was necessary that the expeditionary force should take actual possession of, and establish its authority at, administrative centres throughout the Protectorate. With garrisons at Rabaul and Herbertshohe, and after the surrender of the German armed force. New Britain could be considered as effectively occupied, and Holmes turned his attention to the seizure and occupation of other administrative centres, the most important of which was Friedrich Wilhelm Harbour, a former capital of the Protectorate and the chief seat of authority for the German mainland of New Guinea. September 22nd, therefore, Holmes in the Berrima, escorted by the Australia, Montcalm, and Encounter, left Rabaul with the intention of occupying Madang (Friedrich Wilhelm

Harbour). The expedition reached its destination at daylight on September No one 24th. knew whether the harbour was mined, or whether opposition would be offered. and due precautions were The Encounter taken approached the entrance flying a flag of truce, and sent ashore in her steam launch Captain Travers.



Intelligence Officer, accompanied by Lieutenant Lyng⁴⁹ as official interpreter and the German officer Lieutenant Mayer.

⁴⁹ Capt. Jens S. Lyng. Chief Draftsman and Linguist in Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics 1920/32, and Librarian 1929/32; of Caulfield, Vic.; b. Hasle, Denmark, 16 Apr., 1868.

Travers carried with him copies in English and German of the terms of capitulation, and the following letter⁵⁰ from the admiral:

Australia, Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, 24th September 1914.

Your Excellency,

His Excellency Herr E. Haber, Acting Governor of the German Possessions known as Deutsch Neu Guinea, has entered into an agreement with the representative of the British Government in the terms given in the attached copy.

I therefore call upon you to transfer your subadministration in accordance with the terms of the said agreement.

In the event of resistance being offered by you, I would point out that it is contrary to the terms of the said agreement; and, moreover, I have ample force at my disposal to render useless any opposition you can offer, and armed resistance will only entail useless bloodshed.

I therefore desire that you will inform me as to your intentions without delay, and give me assurance with regard to any submarine mines that may have been laid in the harbours.

Will you please be good enough to state when you will interview the Administrator of the Force of Occupation or his representative? It is desirable in the interests of yourself and of the inhabitants that this should be arranged as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be,

Sir.

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

GEORGE E. PATEY,

Vice-Admiral Commanding Ships and Vessels of the Allied Fleets.

His Excellency

The Officer Representing

The Government of Deutsch Neu Guinea at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen.

⁵⁰ The letter was in both English and German. The German version is given in Appendix No. 4.

The District Officer of Madang (Friedrich Wilhelm Harbour) was not in the town: it was alleged by his deputy that he had set out two days previously on a punitive expedition against natives. The Deputy District Officer, accompanied by another official and a civilian, came off in the Encounter's boat to the Australia, where they inspected the original document of the terms of capitulation, intimated that no resistance would be offered at Madang, and gave an assurance that no mines were laid in the harbour. But no risks were taken: the centre of the channel was swept by the Australia's picketboats, and the Encounter and the Berrima then entered the harbour. The Australia and the Montcalm lay outside the The German residents surrendered immediately. entrance. and took the oath of neutrality. The British flag was hoisted and saluted, and the proclamation of military occupation read. A garrison under Major Martin, oconsisting of a halfcompany of the naval reserve and one and a half companies of infantry, and including a detachment of the Army Medical Corps under Captain Byrne,52 was landed and posted, the commodious stores of the New Guinea Company being taken over as barracks for the troops. All arrangements having been completed at Madang, the expedition left for Rabaul about 6 o'clock in the evening of the same day, and on September 26th arrived at Blanche Bay.

Among the instructions given to Martin by Holmes before leaving Madang were orders to secure the arrest of the principal German officials, and to construct defences against boat landings.

One of the ships, however, against which such defences were to be provided was at that moment actually in hiding at Port Alexis, twelve miles northward along the coast. This was a converted merchantman renamed the *Cormoran*,⁵³ which on August 30th had been detached by von Spee to raid Australian commerce, and was to meet there a consort, the *Prinz*

⁸¹ Brig Gen. E. F. Martin, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D. Commanded 5th Inf. Bde, A.1 F., 1918/19. Accountant, of Waverley, N.S.W.; b. Launceston, Tas.,

²² Aug., 1875.

Lieut Col. G C. Byrne, D.S.O.; A.A.M.C. Medical practitioner; of Burwood, N.S.W., b Secunderabad, India, 3 Jan., 1883.

The Cormoran was originally the Risson of the Russian "volunteer fleet," captured by the Emden shortly after the outbreak of war.

Eitel Friedrich. It was to this harbour that the District Officer had in fact fled when the expeditionary force arrived off Madang, and there is good authority for believing that another German official that evening carried thither particulars of the occupation of Madang, and also the information that the Australian fleet had left in the afternoon. The Cormoran sailed hurriedly the same day⁵⁴ for Yap, where, on the night of the 29th, she embarked most of the garrison, intending with this access of strength to make a surprise attack upon the Australian garrison at Madang. With this purpose she left next day for Port Alexis. Precisely what prevented the carrying out of the plan is not yet known, but a rumour spread afterwards that the commander of the Cormoran was dissuaded by the District Officer, who pointed out that the Governor had capitulated and that German residents would have to bear the consequences of any breach of the agreement. It might be argued that the agreement between Holmes and Haber did not extend to the operations of the German Navy. However that may be, the Cormoran, with the District Officer on board, waited vainly for a collier in the Hermit Islands, a day's sail from Port Alexis, and then, after returning to Yap, where she nearly ran into a Japanese battleship, was interned at the American station at Guam.

⁵⁴ The Prinz Eitel Friedrich visited Port Alexis two days later, and, receiving the same news, hurriedly left to rejoin Admiral von Spee.

CHAPTER VI

THE TERMS OF CAPITULATION

WHEN the terms of capitulation became known in Australia. official circles and the general public agreed in considering that they were unduly favourable to the enemy. There was hostile criticism in the Press. The situation in German New Guinea was contrasted with that in Samoa, where the New Zealand Government had obtained a free hand, whereas the Commonwealth was bound by restrictions imposed by its own emissary. Why, it was asked, had Holmes not insisted on unconditional surrender? He had at his disposal an overwhelming military force, supported by a powerful fleet. In the fighting which had occurred the Australians had been wholly successful; the Germans knew, or could have been taught, that further resistance would result in their utter defeat, and Holmes could have enforced an unconditional surrender. The effect of the agreement, critics said, was to relieve the Germans of the difficulty and cost of administering the Territory during the war and to transfer this burden to the British: at the same time German commercial interests (involved for the most part in valuable coconut plantations) were not only preserved, but would form a greatly enhanced asset at the end of the war, and prove a solid foundation for the rebuilding of German trade in the Pacific. during the war, notwithstanding the military occupation, German companies in New Guinea could carry on their business and enjoy the privileges of a British company; in addition, they would reap the advantage of their German status by retaining German customers. They would thus dominate the commercial situation, and be able to exclude any British company from obtaining a share in the trade of the Territory.

National feeling in Australia, intense throughout the war, was running very strongly against Germany in those early months, when almost every day the cables were reporting atrocities committed by German troops in Belgium. Moreover, Australia had a special interest in New Guinea. Australians

had never forgotten the circumstances in which Germany obtained possession of that territory, and a tradition had been handed down that, but for the mistaken policy of the British Foreign Office of the day, Germany would never have been in New Guinea at all. When, therefore, it was known that an expeditionary force had been despatched to Rabaul, the feeling was that the trespasser would at last be ejected. Disappointment at terms of capitulation that appeared to leave the Germans still in possession of commercial and political privileges was, in the circumstances, natural enough, and the current criticisms seemed, in that atmosphere of war, cogent and unanswerable. Even Holmes's friends regarded his action as an error of judgment, and the public thought it a bad blunder.

Holmes, who felt the criticism keenly, has given, in a despatch dated the 26th of December, 1914, the reasons which actuated him in agreeing to the terms in the form in which they were signed. In fairness to the memory of a gallant soldier, the position as he understood it at the time should be placed side by side with the criticism evoked. It is at the same time interesting to consider his decisions in relation to the principles of international law, and to estimate to what extent he might have secured terms more advantageous to the British cause.

According to the orders given to Holmes, the object of the expedition was to seize all German wireless telegraph stations in the Pacific, to occupy German territory as soon as possible, hoist the British flag, and make suitable arrangements for temporary administration, but not to proclaim any He had no instructions concerning the formal annexation. terms to be insisted upon in the event of the surrender of enemy forces or territory; he therefore assumed that the Government, having selected him for the command of the force, confided in his ability to accomplish the purposes of the expedition, and left him a free hand to act, within the scope of his orders, as he thought best in the interests of the Empire. Since German territory was only to be occupied, not annexed, the rights that could be acquired were those sanctioned by international law relating to military occupation of enemy territory. The law on this subject, as defined by the Hague Convention, prescribes that territory is considered

to be occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army, and that the occupation applies only to territories where such authority is established and in a position This implies that the former government to assert itself. of the occupied territory has by the act of the invader been rendered incapable of exercising its authority, and that the invader has in fact substituted his own authority for that of the formerly legitimate government. Such a case is entirely different from one of annexation, where the territory annexed becomes an integral part of the annexing country, and a transfer of sovereignty is effected: in military occupation, on the contrary, the sovereignty of the legitimate owner of the territory is not destroyed or transferred, but is merely in abeyance during the period for which military occupation It will be remembered also that, according to international law, a military occupant is not at liberty to work his will upon the people and territory subject to his military domination; he may exercise only such powers as are demanded by the military situation, the maintenance of order and safety, and the proper administration of the territory. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that these established principles of the law of military occupation cannot be abrogated or waived by an agreement made between the military occupant and the representative of the ousted government. An agreement may be entered into formally declaring and acknowledging the fact of military occupation, and prescribing matters of detail, such as handing over the public moneys or continuing the civil servants in their former offices; but no agreement relating to military occupation of territory can confer rights greater than those sanctioned by international Neither can this position be affected, except in matters of detail, by terms of capitulation, inasmuch as an agreement for capitulation relates only to conditions applicable to a fortified place or a naval or military force, and does notexcept perhaps in an exceptional case, such as the surrender of Port Arthur—extend to or affect the powers of a military occupant in relation to the administration of the territory. It follows that, as long as Holmes was bound by the injunction that he was to occupy territory and was not to annex it, he could not free himself from the restrictions so imposed.



Standma (left to right) Lieutenant F (1 Cresswell, RAN), Captain R J A Travers Standma (left to right) Lieutenant F B Heritage COLONEL HOLMES AND STAFF AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NAMANULA, RABAUI, 1914

Taken by W. H. Lucas Esq. Aust Was Memerial Cellection No. 13102

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It will thus be seen that the comparison instituted between the position of the New Zealand Government with regard to Samoa and that of the Commonwealth Government in relation to German New Guinea was illusory. It is true that no terms of capitulation were agreed on in Samoa; but that was because no opposition was offered to the landing at Apia, and there was no armed force in the field with which to negotiate. Furthermore, the problems of administration in Samoa were simpler than those in German New Guinea—since not only is Samoa a small and compact territory, thinly populated by a race high in the scale of Pacific peoples, but German commercial interests in Samoa were almost wholly controlled by one trading company. German New Guinea, on the other hand, is a large and scattered territory, with a numerous population of primitive races, and the commercial interests were extensive and complex. At the same time, the legal powers assumed by New Zealand in virtue of the military occupation of Samoa were actually not out of proportion to those conferred on the Commonwealth by the military occupation of German New Guinea. As an illustration of this it may be mentioned that during the war the affairs of the one large German company in Samoa—the German Trading and Plantations Company (Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft)-were placed by the New Zealand Government in the hands of an official receiver, and this receivership was subsequently turned into a conservative form of liquidation, under which the company's existing stocks were sold and its plantations maintained but not further developed. It was decided, however, that in order to conform with international law, the company's lands should not be sold during the military occupation. The New Zealand Government thus recognised that its powers as a military occupant were not unlimited. The same company had a branch in German New Guinea, and its affairs in that Territory were placed by the Military Administrator in the hands of an official receiver. It was suggested by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Commonwealth Government might consider a conservative liquidation of that company and the other large German companies in New Guinea. This would imply that the administrative powers in the two occupied territories were regarded by the Imperial Government as being equal; and there is no doubt that, had circumstances in German New Guinea rendered it advisable or necessary to liquidate the German companies to the extent suggested, such a procedure could legally have been adopted. It would thus appear that there was no real ground for the criticism that the terms agreed to by Colonel Holmes unduly restricted the powers of the Commonwealth Government with regard to German commercial interests in the occupied territory.

It will be remembered that the terms of capitulation defined the name of Deutsch Neuguinea (German New Guinea) as including the whole of the German possessions in the Pacific Ocean lately administered from Rabaul; and it has been shown in a previous chapter that those possessions comprised the mainland of German New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelm's Land), the Bismarck Archipelago, the German Solomon Islands, the Marianne, Caroline, Pelew, and Marshall Islands, The second clause of the terms provided that and Nauru. all military resistance to the military occupation should cease forthwith in the colony. Holmes in his despatch reported that he had found considerable difficulty in forcing the inclusion of this condition, since Haber was of opinion that only the territory actually occupied—the island of New Britain—should be handed over: but he had insisted on the inclusion of the clause in this form, and eventually induced Haber to agree. In fact, however, all that clauses I and 2 amounted to was that no military resistance would be offered in the Territory. Haber was right in his view that the portions of the Protectorate other than New Britain must be actually occupied by Holmes's force before effective military occupation of the Territory was considered to be established. But the other administrative centres south of the equator were successively occupied, and Holmes's dispositions provided for garrisons for the islands north of the equator; moreover, the difficulty referred to by Holmes had already been met by his Proclamation of September 12th, which declared that "from and after the date of these presents, the Island of New Britain and its dependencies are held by me in military occupation in the name of His Majesty

the King." New Britain had, in a strict sense, no "dependencies," and it would have been better if the proclamation had read "the Protectorate of German New Guinea is held by me in military occupation"; yet the chief seat of government for the whole Protectorate was situated on New Britain, and the meaning of the proclamation was clear. could be regarded as a notice to the inhabitants of the Protectorate of the fact of military occupation, and, as soon as that occupation was established by an effective force in the different centres, it would have been immaterial whether Haber had or had not agreed to the clause defining the colony. Still, the fact that he had declared that military resistance should cease forthwith throughout the colony was a definite article of a military capitulation, and was of real assistance to Holmes when the occupation of other centres was being carried out.

The fact that military honours were granted to the German force at its surrender was also the subject of considerable criticism in Australia, as it was contended that this concession detracted from the military prestige of the surrender. Holmes explained that at the conference the Acting Governor was attended by his military adviser, Captain von Klewitz, an officer of the German Imperial Army, Von Klewitz was particularly insistent in demanding the concession of military honours. Holmes at first refused to consent, but eventually decided to concede the point, as he considered that he would be giving away nothing of vital importance. It was, after all, merely a courtesy to an opponent who had fought well. This view he supported by referring to the definition of "Honours of War" in the Manual of Military Law as being "usually construed to include the right to march with colours displayed, drums beating, bayonets fixed and swords drawn." He was convinced that, had this point not been yielded, the surrender would not then have taken place. but hostilities would have been resumed. This meant difficult bush fighting, the only means of advance being along the road with dense jungle on either side. In that kind of country a few men could quite easily offer a serious check to the advance of a large body of troops, and, though the operations would ultimately have been successful, the cost would have been great and lives needlessly sacrified. No doubt the native troops were demoralised, many of the German white soldiers were unfit for service, and the German position at Taulil was more accessible than Holmes thought; but von Klewitz could have carried on a kind of guerrilla warfare for a considerable time in the Baining country.

The terms provided that, upon the Acting Governor giving his parole to take no further part directly or indirectly in the war, no obstacle would be placed in the way of his returning to Germany; but such parole would not prevent him from tendering to the Imperial Government at Berlin such advice as he might deem proper with regard to terms of Haber was not a soldier, and had never had any military training: he was a civil official holding a high administrative position. He could not, according to military law, be regarded as a prisoner of war unless he were deemed dangerous to the interests of the occupant; in that case he might either be made a prisoner of war or expelled from the As the executive authority of the Prooccupied territory. tectorate had been vested in the British military administrator, the office of German Governor was in abeyance, and Holmes considered that the continued presence in the Territory of an official who had formerly exercised the functions of government would be likely to hamper and prejudice the success of the military administration. He therefore determined to deport him to Australia, but was of opinion that, if Haber gave his parole until the end of the war, he should be allowed to return to Germany. Meanwhile he explained to Haber that no undertaking could be given that facilities to proceed to Germany would be offered to him when he reached Australia; the date of his departure from that country must be left to the discretion of the Commonwealth Government, and an opportunity would probably not occur until the termination of the war. The provision that he should be at liberty to tender advice to the German Government with regard to terms of peace was inserted at Haber's special request; as a Privy Councillor he might be called upon to take part in deliberations as to terms of peace, and he wished it to be expressly agreed that this would not be considered a breach of his parole. In the end it was arranged that he

should give his parole for the period of the voyage to Australia, and that the question of his further parole should be discussed with the Commonwealth Government.

In a despatch written at the time of Haber's departure for Australia Holmes paid him a high tribute:

"With regard to Herr Haber, I must say that ever since he surrendered he has acted in a most honorable and straightforward way and has afforded me every possible assistance."

An interesting question of policy was involved in Holmes's decision, expressed in clauses 5 and 6 of the terms of capitulation, that members of the German forces in the field who did not belong to the German regular forces, but whose usual occupation was civil, should be permitted, on taking the oath of neutrality for the duration of the war, to return to their homes and ordinary vocations. It has been mentioned that among those called out for service were a number of planters and commercial men who had received military training in Germany, but were not regular soldiers. of them had invested capital in coconut plantations, and had made their permanent homes in the Protectorate; some were accompanied by their wives and families. Holmes felt that for the protection of the lives of white women and children, for the control of native labourers, and for the interests of the military occupation and the welfare of the Territory, it was imperatively necessary that these settlers should be permitted to return to their plantations. He pointed out that all labour on the plantations is performed by natives recruited within the Protectorate, but that planters did not as a rule employ local natives. Thus thousands of natives were living in districts that were not their home, and, to keep them in control, they and their work must be constantly supervised and directed by white men. When the war broke out, the white planters were called up for service: the native labourers on many of the plantations were left to themselves, and at once ceased work. It was a time of drought, and native foods The distribution of rice and tinned foods to were scarce. the labourers ceased altogether on many plantations; and even where means of issuing rations still existed, only very meagre supplies were available, owing to the interruption of

shipping. No longer could the native get "twist"—the strong trade tobacco so dear to his heart-and this factor added to his discontent. Particularly serious was the shortage of rice, the food on which the labourers chiefly lived. Unlike the unrecruited "kanaka" or bush native, who has often to go hungry and accepts that condition as part of his destiny, the labourers had become accustomed to regular food; faced now with starvation, they ran riot and began to pillage homesteads, to fire plantations, and to threaten and ill-treat unprotected women and children. There was also a great risk that the labourers, if left to range at large, might at any moment be joined by the resident natives, and that a general rising might occur, with disastrous results. from these grave considerations, there remained the question whether the plantations were to be left neglected, in which case they would become rapidly overgrown and destroyed. But in them lay the principal source of revenue of the Territory; they were the chief of its resources, and the earnest of its potential economic value as a colony when young plantations should within the next ten years come into full bearing.

With Holmes the conviction that German New Guinea would welcome a British colony was strong, and it influenced his administration of the Territory in every department. was from the same standpoint that he viewed the preservation There were, it has been shown, other of the plantations. factors to consider; one was that, if the settlers were not to return to their plantations, the only alternative would be to send them to Australia as prisoners of war, to remain there in idleness at the expense of the Government while their homes and properties were going to ruin. But what Holmes saw most clearly was that, if the plantations were destroyed, the economic value of the Territory would be destroyed at the same time, and it would be a loss to the British Empire. The subtleties of a diplomacy which enjoined military occupation and forbade annexation did not appeal to Holmes. While he carefully maintained the distinction between the two, he considered that there should never be any doubt about retaining German New Guinea as a British possession, and with soldierly bluntness said what he thought:

"Ever since I started on my mission I have kept steadily in view the fact that my Force was not a filibustering Expedition despatched to conquer these parts, levy an indemnity, do as much damage as possible and move on, but with the object of occupying the Islands with Military Garrisons until the conclusion of the War, when they would be retained as valuable British Possessions for Colonizing purposes."

The provision in the terms of capitulation that during the military occupation local laws and customs would remain in force, so far as was consistent with the military situation, gave rise to severe criticism in Australia. In view of the definite instructions given to Holmes—that he was only to occupy the territory, not to annex it—it is difficult to see what other course he could have adopted. Convention dealing with the laws and usages of war expressly prescribes that the civil and criminal laws of occupied territory shall continue in valid force; not only is a military occupant not permitted to decree that the laws of the country shall cease to apply, but he is also limited in his powers of making amendments in those laws-important changes in existing legislation should seldom be necessary, and should as far as possible be avoided. Holmes's claim that he acted in strict accordance with international law must therefore be conceded. If he had brushed aside established precedent, what would have been the result? Had he declared that the laws in force in the Territory at the date of the commencement of the military occupation should no longer apply, the whole machinery of government would have been thrown into confusion. The administration of justice and of native affairs, the regulation of titles to land, trade and commerce. and similar important matters, would have been interrupted. It would have taken many months to introduce new laws in the place of those swept away. Further, assuming that legislation enacted by a military occupant was valid—an assumption which does not appear to be supported by any principle of international law or usage—the difficulties created by such a procedure would have hampered the administration in every department. All this was avoided, and the civil

government of the country merged quietly into the military administration without a break, except for the brief interval of actual transfer from German to British hands and the dislocation of trade caused by the interruption of shipping during the first months of the war. There remained, it is true, the inconvenience of administering a system of unfamiliar foreign law, but the officers appointed to advise on legal questions, and to interpret the laws of the country in the court, faced and overcame the problems. Moreover, for officials, called upon to deal with novel conditions, the retention of German law had the advantage of providing in a practical form, suitable to the needs of the country at the time, the fruits of the experience of the German Government; and it did not affect the success of the military administration in any material point.

The addendum to the terms of capitulation provided that all civil officials, whether they took the oath of neutrality or not, should be entitled to receive from the funds of the colony at least three months' salary from the 1st of October, 1014, as well as an advance to meet their travelling expenses for returning to Germany. It further contained Haber's undertaking that the amounts expended under this head would be refunded by the German Imperial Government out of the vearly colonial subsidy. The Commonwealth Government referred this to the British Government, who advised that the provision was within the competency of the military occupant and, having been made by him in the exercise of his authority, was binding on the Commonwealth. explanation given by Holmes was that, according to the German regulations for the civil service of the Protectorate, all officials were paid their salaries every three months in advance, and the next payment would have fallen due on the 1st of October, 1914, a fortnight after the date on which the terms of capitulation were signed. These officials were to be deported to Australia, and some of them had wives and families in the Territory. Haber represented to Holmes that nearly all of them were without means, and that, if they were deported, they would be destitute in Australia. therefore requested that three months' salary and travelling expenses be advanced to them from the administration funds

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GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT NAMANULA, RABAUL

as a loan, on his undertaking to refund the amount from the balance of the German colonial subsidy, which, he stated, was then due. He informed Holmes that the colonial subsidy voted for New Guinea by the Imperial German Government for 1914-1915 was 1,700,000 marks, whereas up to that date he had received only 100,000; but he was confident that on arrival in Australia he would have no difficulty in obtaining the balance, either through the medium of the Consul-General for the United States (who represented German interests in Australia) or direct from the Imperial German Government. The request seemed to Holmes reasonable, especially in view of the undertaking that the amount would be refunded. He therefore agreed to the inclusion of the provision in the terms of capitulation.

It was not, however, carried out. On receiving the list of officials who were to be deported and of the amounts represented by their salary and travelling expenses, Holmes found the total so large that it would leave him with insufficient funds to carry on the administration of the country. He at once informed Haber that it would be impossible to comply with this condition. Inasmuch as on certain occasions during the military occupation it was alleged by Germans that Holmes had repudiated an important condition of the terms of capitulation, the text of the letters which passed between him and Haber on this particular matter are here given. On the 1st of October, 1914, Holmes wrote to Haber:—

"The Addendum to the terms and conditions of surrender agreed to by us at Herbertshöhe on September 17th provided that three months' salary from 1st October, 1914, and travelling expenses should be advanced as a loan, out of the funds of the Colony to be afterwards refunded by you, on behalf of the German Imperial Government, out of the yearly colonial subsidy.

"At that time I was unaware of the amount of money for administration purposes which would be transferred to me, and I was not furnished with the list of the officials concerned or the amount of money involved.

"I now find that the total amount transferred is only M.519,093.15, including cheques, drafts, and bills of

exchange, amounting to M.187,752, the realisation of which appears very doubtful, so that the actual moneys at my disposal amount to M.331,340.90.¹ Whereas I have been furnished by Herr Binder, late Cashier, with a list of 173 officials whose three months' salary and expenses amount to M.848,642.50, it will, therefore, be seen that the proposed loan is altogether impossible to accomplish, as I shall require the whole of the cash now in my possession to meet ordinary expenses of administration, particularly in view of the fact that, owing to the present disturbed conditions of trade, any further revenue during the present year is unlikely to accrue.

"I may say that eight of the officials who have already been deported have received payment, as per list attached hereto, which I shall be glad if you will refund at your earliest convenience.

"I am sending you early intimation of the condition of affairs, so that you will clearly understand, now that I am compelled to cease any further payment, that I am only doing so because to comply with the conditions is an absolute impossibility."

On October 5th Holmes, at an interview with Haber, explained that the officials who were being deported were not prisoners of war, but were being sent away because it was not considered advisable from the point of view of the British Administration to retain them in the Territory: they were, therefore, in a different position from the officers of the German regular army, who would remain prisoners until the end of the war, unless exchanged, and would receive the pay of their respective ranks, subject to the usual adjustment of accounts between the two nations at the termination of He further explained that payment of the salary and travelling expenses of the officials was impossible, but that he would arrange to send Haber to Australia at the first opportunity; he would then be in a better position for negotiating with the German Government to obtain funds for the purposes in question. Pending Haber's arrival in Australia, the officials who had already been deported, if without

¹ The punctuation here given, though apparently that of the original, is obviously wrong, since the next sentence (from "Whereas" to "M.848,642 50") evidently relates to the statement which precedes it, and not to that which follows.

means, would probably be maintained by the Commonwealth Government. Following upon this interview Haber on October 6th wrote to Holmes:—

"Referring to Your Excellency's note of 1st instant, I have the honour to observe that with regard to the stipulation in question, acceded to by Your Excellency, my intention was to prevent the officials sent out of their offices by Your Excellency's military action from becoming destitute. Those officials have from their official relations no claim against the Empire but only against the single According to your verbal statement they are not prisoners of war. The Power having them under its control is, consequently, not obliged to accord to them the privileges granted to the prisoners of war by international rules. I have, however, understood from your verbal explanations yesterday that, while it is impossible to take care of them by payment of a three months' salary and an advance of travelling expenses out of the funds of the Colony, some other way will be found to provide for their board, lodging, and repatriation, together with their family members. In case this is granted, I shall be ready to recognise that the stipulation in question, forming part of our agreement of 17th September, can be considered fulfilled in the meaning of Article 35, paragraph 2, of the International Treaty relating to the Laws and Customs of War on Land, of 18th October, 1902.

"The list presented to Your Excellency by Cashier Binder comprises all the officials of the Colony, including the numerous officials at the outlying stations, where correspondingly large amounts of money are in stock, and also as far as I could see, some non-official persons. Furthermore the advances on travelling expenses are set down higher than it was intended by me during the negotiations preceding the agreement, and besides I have anticipated that Your Excellency would keep a larger number of officials residing in Rabaul and surroundings in their offices, and deport a smaller number.

"In compliance with the agreement of 17th September I will endeavour to cause that any amounts expended in the forementioned interests of the officials of the Colony

be repaid by the Imperial Government out of the yearly subsidy as soon as I am in a position to take the steps necessary for the purpose.

"In order that all officials be treated on the same footing, I have the honour to suggest that all amounts paid out as per list attached to your note of 1st October be called back. In case that is not now possible, I will take the steps necessary for their repayment by the Imperial Government as soon as I can do so. For this purpose I beg leave to ask that the receipts, or verified copies of the receipts, be handed to me as justification, for the purpose of accounting."

It is clear, therefore, that the condition in the terms of capitulation providing for the payment of salary and travelling expenses of officials deported from the Territory was waived by mutual consent of the contracting parties. Haber, who proceeded to Australia and was afforded opportunities of discussing the position with the Commonwealth Government, expressed himself as satisfied with the treatment he and the other officials had received in Australia, where they were maintained at the expense of the Commonwealth Government. In pursuance of the terms of capitulation, he and the officials were permitted to return to Germany, and before his departure, on the 11th of January, 1915, he wrote to Colonel Wallack,² Commandant of the Second Military District, the following letter of thanks:—

"I have the honour to confirm receipt of your favour of the 5th instant, and beg leave to tender to you my thanks for the confidence with which you have favoured me. I may add the expression of the hearty gratitude which all of our party owe to you for the courtesy and attention bestowed on every one of us.

"I shall of course be glad to report to my Government all about the fair and courteous treatment received by us under your command, and I hope that my statements will help to ensure full reciprocity in case an opportunity for it should be offered with regard to British subjects."

² M_{3J}-Gen. E T Wallack, CB, CM.G Commandant, 2nd Military District (N.S W), 1012/15, Sea Transport Service, A.I.F., 1915/17, Officer of Aust. Permanent Forces; of Sydney, b. Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, Eng., 9 Aug., 1857. Died, 12 Feb., 1932.

CHAPTER VII

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

THE executive machinery of government having been surrendered to his control, Colonel Holmes now began the constructive work of establishing the military administration On September 20th he received an intimation through the Naval Board that the Commonwealth Government had appointed him Administrator of German New Guinea. From that time, although the occupation of the outlying portions of the Protectorate still remained to be completed and, as will be seen, expeditions to accomplish that purpose were despatched as opportunity arose, the main task that devolved upon him was to carry on the government of the country.

Under the German régime the functions vested in the Governor, as the sole executive authority, had been exercised through the medium of administrative departments, which carried out the policy enunciated by him. The Protectorate had possessed neither an Executive nor a Legislative Council. There was, indeed, a Council (Gouvernementsrat) consisting of five official members and seven representatives of the commercial and agricultural and other interests of the country; but it was purely an advisory body, with no authority to impose its will upon the Governor and with no powers beyond the right to have its views put on record and transmitted to Berlin in the form of a protocol; and thus should the Governor adopt a course of which any members of the Council disapproved, the dissentient opinions (which were also embodied in the protocol) were brought under the notice of the Imperial Government.

Notwithstanding the Council's right to make its voice heard in Berlin as a faint echo of public opinion in the remote South Seas, the Governor had the power of making his own representations on any question at issue direct to the Colonial Office; he had, moreover, the advantage of his official status and position. He was thus in a very real sense the sole executive authority in the colony.

This administrative system, which permitted the control to lie in the hands of one man, had its origin in the conditions

under which the Protectorate had been first established. was a legacy from the former sway of the New Guinea Company (Neuguinea Compagnie), which had ruled the Territory for fourteen years under a charter from the During that period there had grown Imperial Government. up a tradition that a close supervision of the administration of the Protectorate was not the affair of the Wilhelmstrasse. The chartered company had exercised wide powers, and its responsibility to the Government at Berlin was on the whole nominal. When it surrendered its executive prerogatives, and an Imperial Governor was appointed as the direct representative of Berlin, it was to be expected that his power would not be less than that formerly enjoyed by the administrator of the company. The tradition had therefore continued, and the government of the Territory was in effect a personal government by one man, whose policy, except in relation to international questions, was seldom dictated or controlled by the German Colonial Office.

For a true understanding of social and industrial conditions, and of the administration of New Guinea at the commencement of the Australian military occupation, it is necessary to recall the great part played by the chartered company in the early years of the Protectorate. Bismarck decided in 1884 to forestall Australian aspirations and to hoist the German flag in New Guinca, he had already conceived the idea of commercial penetration and colonisation in the Pacific by means of powerful trading companies. That idea had been strengthened by the remarkable success of the firm of Godeffroy and Son, which in the course of a few years before 1870 had spread a network of trading stations over the Samoan, Tongan, Gilbert, and Ellice groups, and had extended its operations to the Marshall and Caroline It had purchased from the natives 150,000 acres of land in Samoa, and had made German interests paramount in that group. The commercial status and political influence acquired by the firm in Samoa brought clearly before Bismarck's eyes the possibilities of a German colonial empire in the Pacific, and it was undoubtedly the ambitious projects discussed with Bismarck by the partners of the firm that led to the subsequent annexations in New Guinea. In the view

of the Godeffroys and of their partner Theodor Weberwho was German consul at Apia-Samoa and New Guinea were to be linked up in a commercial enterprise which had the full approval of the North German Confederation, would receive its active support, and would ultimately lead to the annexation of the territories. But during the Franco-Prussian war the French Navy blockaded Hamburg, and one effect of that blockade was to ruin the business of Godeffroy and Son at the very time when its deep-laid plans were about to achieve results that would have made the firm the most potent commercial factor in the Pacific. The Godeffrovs became insolvent in 1870, and their interests were subsequently acquired by the Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft-known throughout the South Sea islands as the "long-handle firm"—which at the outbreak of the war in 1014 dominated the trade of Tonga and Samoa. It is interesting to note how the project cherished by Godeffroy and Son of extending its operations to New Guinea was in fact afterwards carried out by this company, which established a branch at Mioko in the Duke of York group and, moreover, wielded sufficient political influence to obtain the valuable and exclusive right to recruit natives from New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago as labourers for the company's plantations in Samoa.

It was, however, not upon this company but upon the New Guinea Company that the choice of the German Government fell when an instrument was to be selected for realising German territorial ambitions in regard to New Guinea.

The New Guinea Company was formally constituted in 1885, receiving on May 17th of that year letters patent from the German Government. A charter conferring wider jurisdiction was granted on the 13th of December, 1886, and the company's powers, privileges, and jurisdiction were further defined in various Imperial ordinances. It was given the right to acquire ownerless land, to enter into agreements with native landowners, to carry on industries such as pearling, trepang-fishing and winning guano or other fertilisers, to mine for ores, precious stones, and mineral oils, to take the produce of coconut plantations not in the possession of natives, to engage in coastal fisheries, and to fell timber for

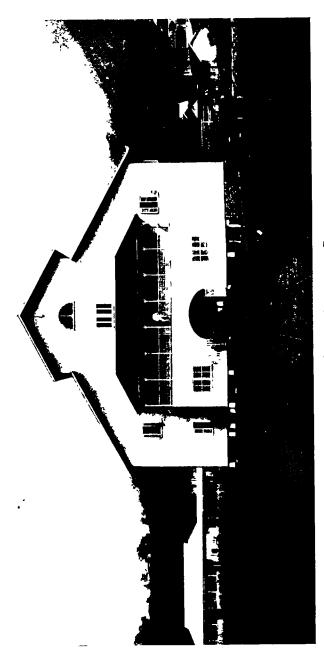
commercial purposes. The company was also to provide and maintain a proper system of government and to defray the expenses of an efficient administration of justice.

In actual fact the company had been formed on the 26th of May, 1884, twelve months before its first chapter was published to the world; but its existence was kept a secret until after Bismarck's coup of November, 1884, when a German fleet of four cruisers suddenly appeared in New Guinea waters and hoisted the German flag on New Britain. the Duke of York group, and the mainland of New Guinea. Notwithstanding the active support of the German Government and the personal sponsorship of Bismarck, the company in its early years made neither an administrative nor a commercial success. Its first administrator, von Schleinitz. was imbued with the notion that the primary object of the company's existence was to govern the country. importance was attached to the exercise of executive authority than to the economic development of the resources of the Territory. The commercial enterprises of the company were undertaken in a spirit either of ignorance or of extravagance, and unfortunate selections were made both of localities and of personnel. The place first chosen as the centre of administration was Finsch Harbour on the mainland Malaria forced a removal to Stephansort in Astrolabe Bay thence to Madang (Friedrich Wilhelm Harbour), and back

again to Stephansort. All these places proved unhealthy. Of seven other sites chosen along the New Guirea coast as suitable for plantations five were abandoned between 1886 and 1899. During the same period there were twelve different administrators, and continuity of policy was in the circumstances not to be looked for. Every year



malaria took its toll; there was a continual coming and going of staff between Germany and the Protectorate; the company's ships were cast away along the unknown coasts and



This building was used as a barracks by the AN & MEF, in 1914 THE NEW GUINEA COMPANY'S STORE AT RABAUL

Lent by L H Lemaire, Esq.

had to be replaced at great expense; capital not absorbed in those ways was dissipated in attempts and experiments directed towards commercial development. Meanwhile there was little or no revenue flowing into the company's coffers as a set-off. In addition to the expenses of its commercial staff the company had to bear the heavy burden of administering the government, and the financial obligations created by this dual constitution imposed a crushing load. By the end of its first decade it had become evident that the prospects of the company's career of usefulness as a pioneering and developmental factor in the Protectorate were being wrecked on the rock of political control. The German Government therefore wisely determined to divest the company of its Imperial charter, and to afford it an opportunity of embarking upon a purely commercial and industrial career. On the 7th of October, 1808, an Agreement of Surrender, to come into force on the 1st of April, 1899, was entered into between the company and the Imperial Chancellor; the company undertook to transfer, without demanding compensation, administrative officials—such as judges, and customs, postal, harbour, and police officers—and to grant the use of its ships either by way of charter for a fixed period or in consideration of freights and passage-fares, the vessels being run to suit the convenience of the Government. Pursuant to the terms of its original charter, the company had had the right to issue its own coinage, and had so far minted 50,000 New Guinea gold marks, 200,035 New Guinea silver marks, and 20,000 New Guinea bronze or copper coins. It was now provided that it should renounce the right of minting. On its part the German Government granted to the company a capital of 4,000,000 marks, payable in ten instalments of 400,000 marks each on the first day of April in each year, commencing on the date at which the Agreement came into force. Government stipulated that each instalment of this grant should be utilised within four years in establishing or fostering industrial undertakings in the interests of the Protectorate. and the company was required to prove, to the satisfaction of a commission appointed each year by the Imperial Chancellor, that this condition had been fulfilled. The Agreement further stipulated that the company was entitled to select on the

mainland of German New Guinea and the adjacent coastal islands land not exceeding in area 50,000 hectares (approximately 125,000 acres) without making any payment therefor, provided that such selection was made within a period of three years from the 1st of April, 1899.

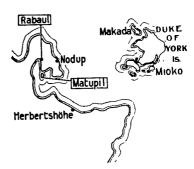
With the coming into force of this Agreement an era of prosperity for the company began to dawn. The provision of this comparatively large sum of new capital, and the simultaneous relief from the expenditure incidental administration, placed its affairs on an entirely different footing. It recovered its former prestige, retaining at the same time the advantages of its former association with the administration of the Protectorate, but without the heavy disabilities. Its financial standing, its connection with the Imperial Government, and the right-freely exercised-to take up large areas of land without payment, placed it in a favoured position as compared with any possible competitors in the colony. Thus, despite its record of failure and maladministration, the company emerged from its difficulties at the end of the nineteenth century in a not unenviable Its material affairs began to prosper; it occupied a high status in the commercial life of New Guinea; and its political influence remained very great. In 1918 its coconut plantations were valued at eleven million marks, its cocoa plantations at 800,000, and its rubber plantations at 400,000, while for the year 1917-1918 it had made a nett profit of over one and a quarter million marks

But although the most important, the New Guinea Company was not the earliest of the pioneers. In 1874 Godeffroy and Son had attempted to establish a trading poston Matupi Island, and, when compelled to abandon that position in consequence of the hostility of the natives, had succeeded in retaining a precarious footing at Nodup. The way was thus opened for Godeffroy's successors—the "long-handle firm"—to maintain a connection with New Guinea, and this company subsequently selected a commercial centre at Mioko, in the Duke of York group. Mioko was used mainly as a recruiting dépôt, to which natives from the

¹The tribes round Blanche Bay were at that time deemed to be amongst the most savage in the whole Territory.

mainland of New Guinea and from the Bismarck Archipelago were brought before being transported to Samoa to become

labourers on the company's plantations there. From these beginnings the company's branch business in Mioko Rabaul and grew importance in proportion to the increasing prosperity and expansion of the head office at Apia, in Samoa. Subsequently. owing sway which it acquired in the Samoan and Tongan groups,

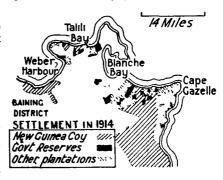


the company became one of the most influential in New Guinea.

In 1876 another pioneer, Hernsheim, arrived in Blanche Bay from Sydney in his own schooner, traded with the natives, and established a station on Makada, in the Duke of York group, directly opposite Nodup. Undaunted by the Godeffroys' failure to secure a foothold on Matupi Island, Hernsheim subsequently transferred his headquarters to that place, which has ever since remained closely identified with his name. Such was the origin of the important firm of Hernsheim and Company—a firm which at the commencement of the British military occupation owned 8,549 acres of land.

carried on extensive commercial activities, and exercised a great influence upon the economic affairs of the Protectorate.

In 1882 the purchase from the natives of a tract of land and the establishment of a coconut plantation upon it at Ralum, near the



site subsequently selected for the settlement of Herbertshöhe. marked the beginnings of another big company. From this

enterprise and its ramifications sprang the Forsayth Gesellschaft, afterwards the Hamburg South Sea Company, which ranked next to the New Guinea Company in respect of commercial importance and political influence.

Round these large companies the commercial life of the Protectorate ebbed and flowed. In their extensive coconut plantations they had abundant assets, which steadily increased in value each year as the palms grew to maturity and became more prolific; through the medium of their head offices in Hamburg or Berlin they had facilities for obtaining financial accommodation on the most favourable terms; copra was in demand and readily saleable in Europe, and advances against shipments could easily be negotiated; the steamers of the Norddeutscher-Lloyd, linking up Rabaul with the China and Eastern trade, carried the produce of the Protectorate from Rabaul to Hamburg at a freight of about two pounds fifteen shillings a ton; working expenses were low, and native labour was cheap and plentiful. In consequence of these favourable conditions the German companies, during the decade preceding the outbreak of the war, had become established upon a very solid commercial basis, and were beginning to make large The success of the companies had stimulated individuals to become planters. Many employees of the companies, having gained experience as managers or overseers on plantations, took up land for themselves. For the most part they had only a small amount of capital, representing the savings from their salaries. In these circumstances it was natural that they should apply to their former employers for financial assistance to carry them on until such time as they could obtain a return from their new plantations; it was equally natural that the managers of the companies, knowing these men to have experience in planting and in controlling native labourers, should be willing to enter into business relations with them. Thus it came about that under the wing of the large companies there grew up many smaller firms, and planters took up land and cultivated it with the aid of borrowed capital. This arrangement was an advantageous one for the big companies. The general custom was that the borrower bound himself to obtain from the financing company all stores and supplies and to sell through the company any

produce grown by him or coming into his hands. In addition, if he had a registered title to his land, he gave a mortgage over it to the company to secure the repayment of the money; if he had not completed the purchase of his land, and thus lacked a clear title, he nevertheless gave the company a written promise that he would execute a mortgage in its favour as soon as he had obtained such a title. Under German law this promise of mortgage constitutes an effective form of security. In accordance with commercial usage in the Protectorate, the yearly rate of interest was eight per cent.

In these circumstances it followed that the large companies dominated the commercial activities of the Protectorate. Apart from their intrinsic authority and influence, they controlled the smaller firms and individual planters through the factor of finance; the debtor could not afford to oppose his creditor in matters in which the latter had pursued or indicated a definite policy. Thus the small planter, who would otherwise have had little voice in the control of public affairs, had his views on questions affecting his business forcefully advocated by the large companies, whose interests in all essential subjects such as shipping, freights, and the regulation of native labour coincided with his. On the other hand, the large companies, fortified by the fact that they had the whole body of settlers behind them, were able to exert potent, if indirect, influence on the trend of administration in the Territory. Not infrequently, also, it fell out that what could not be achieved in Rabaul could be accomplished through the political "pull" of the head office in Hamburg or Berlin. The principal administrative problems of the Territory therefore had for their centre the interests of the large trading companies, with an outer circle representing the subsidiary interests of the small firms and the planters: beyond that again lay the innumerable questions connected with the regulation and control of native affairs.

The immediate effect of the outbreak of war was to isolate the Protectorate from the outside world; but, apart from the interruption of shipping and the impossibility of communication with Germany, the essential elements of the commercial life of the country were not destroyed—they were merely, for the time being, dislocated. The fact that the majority of the merchants and planters were called to the colours suspended ordinary business transactions and left many of the plantations without managers or overseers. the routine of daily life could easily resume its course when the cause which had diverted it ceased to operate With the administration of public affairs it was far otherwise. transfer of the seat of government from Rabaul to Toma in the first days of August had taken the staffs of departments away from their offices. Holmes's decision to dispense with the services of the German civil officials, and to carry on the government of the Territory by means of members of the expeditionary force, resulted in the various departments of the administration being deprived of their former staffs. There was thus a complete change of personnel from German to British. These circumstances inevitably caused a break in the continuity of administration. The gap had to be bridged without loss of time.

Holmes therefore at once took up the task of organising the departments in such a manner as to make them constituent parts of a military administration. In the terms of capitulation he had reserved power to dispense with the German civil officials; and on further consideration he decided to adhere to this policy, except where he deemed it necessary or advantageous to retain certain officials in a professional or advisory capacity. Thus he availed himself of the services of the Judge to advise upon questions of German law; medical officers were kept on to deal with patients suffering from tropical diseases unfamiliar to the ordinary medical practitioner; an official of the Treasury was retained because of his expert knowledge of the details of public finance, and the same procedure was adopted in regard to some of the other technical branches of the public service.

In a despatch dated December 26th Holmes refers to the difficult problem with which he was faced:—

"Now the German laws and customs in this colony are very complex and unique, particularly those relating to the large native population. The rules and regulations in respect to Finance and Customs also are different to anything I have been accustomed to in Australia, and moreover all entries and records were, of course, in the

German language, and competent interpreters were not available. I therefore determined to avail myself of the services of certain officials in an advisory capacity for a period of three months, and entered into agreements accordingly, promising to continue the payment of their former salaries."

The functions formerly exercised by the German Governor were centralised at administration headquarters in Rabaul, where the Administrator, with the assistance of a military secretary, dealt with matters of policy and the general administration of the Territory. Holmes had to cope with the perplexities of the transition stage between the German system and the changes and modifications demanded by the circumstances of military occupation. Reporting to the Minister for Defence on October 4th, he was able to state that the Departments of the Treasury, Works, Lands and Survey, Law, Post and Telephones, Printing Office, and Native Affairs had been taken over and organised, each under an officer-in-charge with the necessary staff.

On October 16th he despatched the Nusa with a small force, under the command of Major Heritage, to occupy Käwieng, the principal seat of administration for New Ireland. Heritage had instructions also to obtain the release of Jolley, the British consul, who was reported to be interned in New Ireland, and to hunt down the steamer Siar,² which belonged to the New Guinea Company and was suspected of smuggling goods and supplies. Heritage had with him a detail of fifteen soldiers and a machine-gun, and was accompanied by John Strasburg, who had spent many years in New Guinea waters as the master of island schooners and who volunteered to go with the expedition as navigating officer.

The Nusa arrived at Käwieng on the afternoon of October 17th. No opposition was offered to the landing, the British flag was immediately hoisted, and the military occupation of the colony was proclaimed. The German District Officer was away; it was learned, however, that he was in the district, and that Jolley was detained on a plantation about twenty miles off. Measures were taken to secure his release.

² An account of the movements of the Siar during the months of Sept, and Oct will be found in Vol. IX (ch. iv, sec. sii).

and the German District Officer was summoned to surrender. In the meantime Heritage endeavoured to obtain information as to the Siar, and his inquiries confirmed the evidence available in Rabaul that her captain had hidden her in the Gardner Islands, a group lying off the north-east coast of New Ireland. Leaving in Käwieng a garrison of ten men under Lieutenant Holmes, Heritage proceeded in the Nusa

the same night towards Gardner Islands, Strasburg piloting the little vessel through a thick haze into Tikitere Harbour (in Tabar Island) on the following morning. Here the Siar was lying at anchor, and here were also the motor Matubi schooners and Senta. Their officers were ashore, breakfasting at the trading station; before they could reach their ships



prize crews had been placed on board, all arms had been seized, and the ships' papers taken into custody. The engines of the Siar had been temporarily dismantled, and the Nusa had to tow her to Käwieng, the schooners proceeding in company under their own power. Käwieng was reached on the morning of October 20th, and by that time Jolley had been released. The German District Officer reported himself Lieutenant Holmes to Heritage at noon the same day. remained at Käwieng with a temporary garrison, and on the 21st Heritage set out for Rabaul, where he arrived on the 23rd. In his report on this expedition he refers appreciatively to the services rendered by Strasburg, whose local knowledge was invaluable; he also specially mentions Petty Officer Clarke,3 who took charge of the Siar, and Able Seaman Courtman,4 who succeeded in putting the Siar's engines into working order so that she was brought into Rabaul under her own steam.

² Petty Officer G. I. Clarke; b. Newhaven, Sussex, Eng., 6 Jan., 1870. ⁴ Able Seaman C. C. Courtman. Engineer; of Sydney; b. Little Batlow Chelmsford, Essex, Eng., 1871. (He was later appointed a warrant officer in the infantry of the A.N. & M.E.F.) Died, 18 April, 1939.

Heritage also took command of an expedition which left Rabaul on November 19th in the Siar in order to occupy the Admiralty group and the Western Islands. As they neared Lorengau the Germans and native police were observed through glasses to be armed and retreating inland. The Siar fired a belt from a machine-gun over their heads at long range and the Germans then surrendered. This was the last occasion during the campaign on which shots were fired. The British flag was hoisted at Lorengau, Nares Harbour,

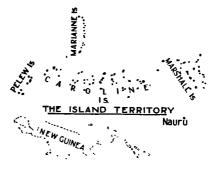
and Komuli in the Admiralty group, and at Maron in the Western Islands. A garrison consisting of Sub-Lieutenant Hext⁵ and twelve naval ratings was posted at Lorengau, the seat of administration.

One portion of the Territory south of the equator—the German Solomon Islands



—still remained to be occupied by the Expeditionary Force. On November 15th Holmes received from the Navy Office at Melbourne a message which led him to expect that considerable opposition was likely to be offered to the seizure

of the largest of these islands—Bougainville. It happened that on November 21st he received by radiogram from the Department of Defence information of the despatch of a special expeditionary force to occupy German possessions north of the equator. This message stated that the



transport Eastern, with troops for the occupation of those possessions—the Pelew, Caroline, Marshall, and Marianne

⁵ Sub-Lieut A P. Hext Engineer, of Melbourne, b. Ipswich, O'land, 27 July, 1890 (He subsequently served as a captain with the 30th Bn., A.I.F., in France, where he died of wounds on 20 June, 1918.)

Islands—would leave Sydney on November 26th escorted by the Una (formerly the Komet), would call at Rabaul on December 5th and would, if necessary, transport to Bougainville such of Holmes's force as he required to carry out the occupation. The Eastern would then return to Rabaul, reembark her original troops, and proceed under escort of the Una to the islands north of the equator. Holmes was further informed that this expedition was in charge of Colonel Pethebridge. Secretary for Defence, who had been appointed Australian Commissioner for the Pacific Islands. message on November 23rd apprised him that the three Australian destroyers, which were due to arrive at Rabaul about November 30th, would assist him in occupying German territory south of the equator, and would seek for German cruisers: the Fantome would leave Sydney about December 1st on the same service.

In view of these messages Holmes decided to await the arrival of the *Una* and the *Eastern* at Rabaul before proceeding to occupy the German Solomons. These ships, however, had not up to December 7th made Rabaul; Holmes, therefore, learning from an intercepted wireless message that they had been diverted to Madang, and being without information as to their future movements, decided to avoid any further delay in completing the occupation of the

south Territory of the On December equator. despatched 7th he the Meklong a force of two companies of infantry and a machine-gun section, under the command Lieutenant - Colonel Watson, with instructions to seize the Government Kieta station at on Bougainville Island and



200 Miles

post there a half-company as garrison. His information, which he had reason to think reliable, was that, although contrary reports had reached the Australian Government, there would be

Brig Gen. Sir S. A. Pethebridge, K.C.M.G. Secretary, Dept. of Defence of Brishane and Melbourne: Military Administrator of German New Guinea, 1915/17; b. Brishane, 3 Aug., 1862 Died of illness, 25 Jan., 1918.

Hoisting the Union Jack at Kieta, 9th December, 1914.





THE OCCUPATION OF THE GERMAN SOLOMON ISLANDS

Troops landing from the Meklang at Kieta, Bougainville Island, 9th December, 1914

Lent by Lieut -Col H' W R Waltom, AN & MEF

no opposition to the military occupation of Bougainville, and that a small force would be sufficient to deal with the situation.

Watson's force arrived at Kieta at noon on December oth Döllinger, the German Bezirksamtmann or District Officer. was summoned under a flag of truce and came on board the Meklong; the terms of capitulation were read over to him, and he stated that he would offer no opposition. The troops landed and seized the Government buildings; the German colours were hauled down; the British flag was hoisted and saluted, and the Proclamation of British military occupation was read and posted at administrative headquarters. The German officials surrendered, and were brought aboard the Mcklong as prisoners. A number of German planters, merchants, and missionaries took the oath of neutrality, and were then, in accordance with the terms or capitulation, permitted to carry on their usual vocations Lieutenant Maughan, who was left in charge of the garrison, was instructed to disarm, and administer the oath to, other German residents.

There had been attached to the Government station at Kieta an administrative steamer, the Buka, a wooden vessel of sixty tons with a speed of seven knots. She had been built in China two years before the war and was a sister ship to the Nusa, which had been the administrative vessel at Käwieng and afterwards proved of great service to the military administration. It was expected that the Buka would be captured when Kieta was occupied; but, three weeks before Watson steamed up the rugged and picturesque inlet in the Mcklong, the Buka had been sunk in a neighbouring bay The seacocks had been opened by order of the District Officer, and she lay in nine fathoms, the spot being marked Her engines had been smothered in oil and grease to protect them from the action of the sea-water, and her woodwork and fittings had also been protected, for the District Officer hoped that the chances of war would soon enable him to use the Buka again. Holmes and his immediate successors entertained the project of raising her. Had the task been undertaken in the early stages of the occupation,

⁷ Lieut. Col. J. M. Maughan, D.S.O. Commanded 20th Bn., A.I.F., temply, 1917. Solicitor; of Edgecliff, N.S.W.; b. Ashfield, N.S.W., 19 Dec., 1877.

the vessel would, thanks to the precautions taken by the Germans for her preservation, have been in a seaworthy condition and of service to the administration. Early in 1915 she was examined by a diver from the Una, and her hull and fittings were reported to be in a satisfactory state. However, no steps were taken to raise her; and there to this day lies the Buka, the waters of the bay lapping over her worm-eaten hull and her ruined engines.

Reporting on the various expeditions, Holmes in a despatch dated December 11th summed up the situation in the following terms:—

"The whole of the late German possessions south of the equator may now, therefore, I think be considered to have been satisfactorily dealt with by my force Other stations will be visited as opportunity offers, such as Eitape and Morobe in Kaiser Wilhelmsland, but there is no immediate hurry as there is a strong garrison posted at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen."

It was during the time when the outlying islands were being occupied, after Heritage's landing at Käwieng on October 17th and before the occupation of the Western and Admiralty Islands in November, that an incident occurred which, on account of its local and international consequences. as well as of its bearing upon a narrative concerning the administration and character of Colonel Holmes, calls for somewhat detailed statement. This was the assault, by certain Germans and a Belgian at Namatanai on October 26th, upon the Reverend William Henry Cox, a British national, who at the time was Chairman of the Methodist Mission in the Bismarck Archipelago. That outpost had not, at the date. been occupied by a detachment of the expeditionary force. but the German residents there, with the knowledge that Käwieng had recently been occupied and garrisoned, were daily expecting the arrival of Australian troops. Excitement was therefore running high. In the midst of this tension, with racial feeling very acute, German officials at Namatanai intercepted a letter from a British subject in the German schooner Samoa (then hidden in Kalili Harbour on the west coast of New Ireland) addressed to Cox and requesting him

to let the British warships know where the Samoa was concealed. This led the Germans in the district to believe that Cox was a spy, and that he had been giving information about the Germans to the British naval and military forces. also happened that at this date there was considerable unrest among the natives on the plantations in the district and among the hill tribes. It was believed by the government officials and the planters that this had been caused through the influence of teachers belonging to the Methodist Mission. who, it was alleged, had told the native labourers that, since the German Government had lost its authority in the Territory. they need now no longer work for their German masters. The insidious notion that government control had vanished had also affected the bush natives, and it appears that certain of the planters, isolated from other white men and from the protection of the native police, believed that their lives were in danger. The alleged statements of the mission teachers were reported to have been suggested by-or to have been made with the approval of-the Methodist Mission station at Ulu in the Duke of York Islands, where Cox had his headquarters. This report, combined with the incident of the intercepted letter, caused considerable feeling against the Methodist Mission and against Cox in particular; and it would appear that these two different motives prompted the assault

On the very day on which the affair took place, the German district officer at Namatanai had made up his mind to retire into the interior, so that he would not have to surrender the station to the Australians. He was accordingly making preparations for his departure. He and the resident government medical officer had not been on good terms. A number of Germans, including the medical officer—and with them a Belgian planter, who had come to Namatanai from his plantation to seek some protection for himself and his property in view of the threatening attitude of the natives in his locality—had gathered during the day at the district officer's house, and had there been drinking freely and discussing the matter of the intercepted letter and also the unrest among the natives, for which, as has been already stated, they believed

that Cox was responsible. During the afternoon, while thus occupied, they saw Cox passing through Namatanai on his way to the mission station, which is about two miles south of the township. They had just been talking about his supposed actions, and the sight of him stirred their anger. afterwards, on the same afternoon, the medical officer went to the mission station to attend to a sick native, and, while there, the missionary in charge of the station wished to introduce him to Cox. The medical officer angrily refused to meet Cox, whom he violently accused of being a spy; still in a rage, he left the mission station and returned to Namatanai. Cox, upon being told what had been said about him, appears to have written to the doctor a letter explaining that he had not acted in any way against the interests of the Germans. This missive, however, apparently did not reach the doctor for a considerable time after the assault had occurred.

On his return from the mission station to Namatanai, the doctor called upon the district officer to say good-bye and to restore friendly relations on the eve of the latter's departure into the country. The district officer then left his house and busied himself in preparations for his journey: the others still remained drinking on the verandah, and it was then that the medical officer suggested that Cox deserved a thrashing. this the whole party, with the exception of one German who by this time had fallen into a drunken sleep, agreed, but three of them stated that, having taken the oath of neutrality, they did not wish to be implicated in the affair. The others then remarked that there were enough without these three, but that they should come too and look on, and after further discussion and more drink this course was decided upon. Meanwhile the district officer had set out on his expedition, taking the road which led past the mission station. Having seen that there was likely to be trouble about Cox, he decided to warn the missionary to get Cox out of the way; accordingly he sent a native messenger with a request for the resident missionary to come and speak to him on the road. In compliance with this request the missionary left his house, met the district officer, and was advised that Cox had better go away as soon as possible, as there was every likelihood of

mischief being done to him. After some further conversation, the district officer set out along the road away from Namatanai; but the missionary, on returning to his house, after an absence of about ten minutes, found that an assault had been committed on Cox. At first sight it might appear that he had been purposely decoyed by the district officer, but there is no evidence that this was so, and it would seem beyond doubt that the district officer's only object in sending for him was to warn him of the probability of the attack.

Meanwhile those who had made up their mind to thrash Cox set out from the Bezirksamt's house to carry out their purpose; all were more or less drunk; indeed, one of them was left behind incapable. On the way they met the doctor's assistant, who had taken no part in the discussion, but who was ordered by his senior to accompany him. This assistant, a mere boy, apparently without comprehending what purpose was afoot, joined in the party. They ran towards a spot close to the mission station, sat down to recover their breath. then hurried across the mission land, and three of them rushed up the hill and into the house, where Cox was sitting talking to the wife of the missionary. The medical officer pointed a pistol at Cox, and exclaimed—"You are a prisoner." Cox was then seized by the neck, pushed or dragged out of the room on to the verandah and down the steps, held down over a wash-tub, and given thirty or forty strokes with a cane. The affair occupied only a few minutes, Cox's assailants then releasing him and running down the hill towards Namatanai. The other missionary, returning from his interview with the district officer, thus saw the assailants hurrying away.

Notwithstanding the ill-usage to which he had been subjected, Cox, accompanied by a native guide and resting for some time in the bush, found his way across the island during the same night to the west coast at Labur, where lay the mission schooner *Litia*, in which he had come to New Ireland. After reaching his home on the island of Ulu, he proceeded to Rabaul, reported the assault to the Administrator. and at the same time showed the bruises, which were thick upon him, to the Principal Medical Officer. He was able to give the name of his principal assailant, the German doctor,

and Holmes despatched, in the steamer Madang, a detachment under the command of Major Ralston⁸ to search for and arrest the perpetrators; he also instructed Manning, his judicial officer, to conduct an inquiry into the facts and circumstances of the affair. In the course of this investigation Manning visited Namatanai, interviewed the German missionary and his wife, examined, partly in Namatanai and partly in Rabaul, the persons charged with being implicated in the affair, and obtained from each of them a written statement admitting culpability. He thereupon drew up and forwarded to the Administrator a report in which were set out clearly the motives for the assault and the facts concerning it. "The part taken by each," wrote Manning, in conclusion, " . . . is in no way denied by any of the party, and the story is practically compiled from their own admissions."

To Holmes this action against a prominent British subject—and a missionary—by Germans living under the authority and protection of a British government in newlyconquered territory naturally appeared to be one of outrageous insolence and defiance. It was, indeed, precisely characteristic of those qualities by which a certain type of German blackened his country's name from the outbreak of war in Belgium. the highly-charged state of a war atmosphere the assault seemed, when first reported, to have been purposely committed in order to insult the British character and cause. indignation aroused was intense, and the crime called for prompt punishment and suppression. Especially did Holmes conceive that the dignity and authority of the military administration had been intentionally flouted. To persons separated from these events by a wide distance of time or space, it is perhaps easy to judge that he wrongly assigned to the occurrence a political colour which clouded his usually clear vision; yet that judgment must be passed. is no question as to whether he was morally justified in retaliating for a brutal act by inflicting similar punishment on the offender; the issue is legal and political—not moral. the face of a delicate international situation, with the tide of

Lieut Col. A W. Ralston, C.M G., D.S.O., V.D. Commanded 20th Bn, A.I.F., 1016/18; and Machine Gun Bn, 1918/19 Barrister-at-law; of Strathfield and Rose Bay. N.S.W.; b. Croydon, N.S.W., 27 Nov., 1885.

racial feeling running full, he decided to treat Manning's report as a conclusive judicial finding, and to dispense with a trial. In this he acted against both the advice orally tendered by Manning, and a warning from the former German judge, Weber. Though the inquiry had been careful and impartial, and the facts adduced had been clear and accurate, the proceeding had been in no sense a judicial trial. The report was handed to the Administrator on the 28th of November, 1914, and on the same day Holmes issued an order in the following terms:—

"This report fully bears out the complaint made to me by the Reverend Mr. Cox, that a gross and unprovoked assault had been perpetrated upon him. . . .

"In view of the indignity and humiliation inflicted upon the Reverend Mr. Cox, a British subject, whose calling as a minister of religion alone should have protected him from such an attack, I consider it necessary that a short, sharp, and exemplary punishment should be meted out to those concerned. The case is a unique one, and must, therefore, be dealt with in a special manner, and I can see no better means of doing this than by awarding the guilty persons a taste of the same medicine they administered to the Reverend Mr. Cox.

"I therefore direct that a parade of all available troops of the Rabaul and Herbertshöhe garrison be held on Monday next, 30th November, in Proclamation square, at 10 a.m., and that the following punishments be publicly inflicted upon the prisoners. . . ."

The order then prescribed that the ringleader should receive thirty strokes with the cane, and the others twenty-five strokes each, with the exception of the German doctor's young assistant, who was to receive ten.

This punishment was duly carried out in Proclamation square, Rabaul. Natives were forbidden to be in the vicinity of the ground, and guards were posted to prevent them from approaching. Photographing was prohibited. The troops were formed around the place. All the male German residents of Rabaul had been ordered to attend, but were informed that they would not be compelled to witness the

actual punishment. Before its infliction, the Administrator made a speech, pointing out the reasons for it, and warning the German residents that assaults on British subjects would not be tolerated. The German residents then left, except Weber and another, who remained at their own request to watch the proceedings. The arrested men were then given the allotted number of strokes with a cane about as thick as a man's thumb. In protest against the proceeding all the German officials resigned their posts as advisers to the administration, and there the affair, for the time being, ended; but its more distant results, which will be narrated in a later chapter, provide a warning against hasty action in such circumstances; however complete may appear at the time to be its moral justification.

See ch. svi.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAPTURE OF THE KOMET

It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that the Government steamer Komet, after evading the Australian fleet in St. George's Channel on the night of August 13th, landed the German Governor, Dr. Haber, near Rabaul in the early morning of August 14th, and then, with only thirty tons of coal left to take her to sea, sought refuge at a place on the north coast of New Britain. These facts were not known to the occupying force. An inspection of German official files and the Treasury books revealed the existence of the Komet, the Governor's new administrative vacht, of 977 tons displacement, the property of the Protectorate, and showed that she had been purchased out of the funds of the Territory. On taking over the administration Colonel Holmes demanded this vessel, in accordance with the terms capitulation, as government property; Dr. Haber thereupon stated that, in accordance with instructions, he had transferred the vessel to the German East Asiatic Squadron on September 1st, and was consequently unaware of her where-Haber's official report shows that, shortly before the wireless station at Nauru was put out of action, a direction was received by radiogram from Admiral von Spee that the Komet was to take coal to a specified group of islands, and that the steamers Sumatra and Meklong, which were then lying in Buka Strait¹ loaded with coal and provisions for von Spee's cruisers, were to proceed to the same rendezvous It is now known, from the Komet's log, that the "specified group of islands" was Angaur in the Pelew Group. Komet was therefore at the end of August called up to Weber Harbour, but, before reaching that place, was intercepted at Massava Bay.2 Her captain was given orders in accordance with von Spee's message, and she was placed entirely at the disposal of the German fleet. She reached Angaur on September 14th, went to sea again, and held on and off waiting for the auxiliary cruiser Prinz Eitel Friedrich, which she met on the following day off Malakal

¹ A narrow passage between Buka and Bougainville in the German Solomons.

² Both Weber Harbour and Massava Bay are on the north coast of New Britain. The Pelews are shown in the map at p. 4

Harbour in the Pelews. She remained in that harbour in company with the cruiser until September 24th. On the 26th wireless messages, including signals of the British destroyer Racoon, disturbed the Komet's captain; he put to sea, and made a long détour to the east before shaping a course for Durour in the Western Islands. Here she took in provisions,

then made for the secluded Peterhaven in the Witu Islands off the north coast of New Britain. September 20th her wireless picked up a message which gave her the first intimation that New Guinea had been occupied by Australian forces, so from Peterhaven she sent Rabaul warnings that Out



and Herbertshöhe had been captured and garrisoned by the British. Then, leaving the Witu group on October 4th, she again sought her place of refuge in New Britain, and attempted without success to get into wireless communication with the seat of government by way of the Baining Mountains.

Thus in the early part of October, 1914, the Komet was lying concealed at a place on the north coast of New Britain

which is now known to Komethafen, Komethafen have been miles from about 170 Tt. here Rahaul. was that she had received a cargo of coal from the Siar during August, and her hiding-place was thus known to the Siar's native crew, who on their return Rabaul had spread . rumours about the Komet



being at Talasea, the native name for the country round Komethafen. Haber had in fact advised the captain of the

³ A detailed account of the movements of the Komet during the months of July August, September, and October, 1914, will be found in Vol. IX (ch. iv, sec. 111).

THE GERMAN NAVIL VACHT, LOME!

Atterwards anned and commissioned as H M A.S. Una, and stationed in New Guinea waters. Inset. The Musa, in which Commander J. M. Jackson captured the Komer

Lent by 7 J McMahen, Lyq and (mget) by Lady Pethebudge

To face F 129

Komet that it would be safer to seek another refuge, as the Siar's crew might betray the locality, but Möller brought his ship back to her usual place of concealment.

Haber's intimation that the Komet had been placed at the disposal of the German fleet as from September 1st was conveyed verbally to Rear-Admiral Patey immediately after the Governor's surrender, but up to the beginning of October her whereabouts had not been ascertained. On the night of October 3rd the Australia and the Montcalm left Rabaul for Suva, and the following day the rest of the Australian warships steamed out of Blanche Bay, proceeding either to Suva or to Sydney. Prior to the departure of the fleet, instructions from the admiral had been left with the harbour-master at Rabaul (Lieutenant-Commander Jackson) that the Madang was to be kept in commission for the use of the Administrator between Rabaul and Herbertshöhe; the crews of the Nusa and the Sumatra were to be paid off and the ships themselves laid up after removal of their eccentric straps. steamers had, at the beginning of the military occupation, been captured by ships of the Australian Navy, and they were afterwards armed and employed in scouting for the fleet. On the night on which the Australia and Montcalm left Rabaul a wireless message in German was intercepted there, and could not be accounted for. On the following day Colonel Holmes received information that the Komet was concealed on the north coast of New Britain. He at once wrote to Captain Lewin⁵ of H.M.A.S. Encounter the following letter, which reached him as the cruiser was weighing anchor to proceed to Suva:-

"I have just received information from Captain Fry⁶ that he was informed by Mr. Whiteman at luncheon time to-day, that the Steamer Komet is at present in hiding on the North Coast about 100 miles from here: that the masts had been taken out of her and erected on shore to form a temporary Wireless Station, the vessel herself being screened from view by being surrounded by coconut

⁴ Commr. J. M. Jackson; R.N. Commanded H.M.A.S. Una. 1914/16.
⁸ Rear-Admiral C. La P. Lewin; R.N. Of Fraut, Sussex, Eng., b. Blackheath, Kent, Eng., 22 Aug., 1874.
⁹ Maj. (temp. Leut-Col.) W. A. Le R. Fry, O.B.E. Commanded 34th Bn., A.I.F., temply, 1918. Warehouseman; of Sydney; b. Bourke, N.S.W., 29 Nov., 1986. 1886.

"Mr. Whiteman is at present in Rabaul, and is prepared to take an expedition to the place.

"The erection of this temporary Wireless Station may account for the message that was intercepted last night.

"In view of this information, which seems pretty definite, would it not be well before you leave Rabaul, to send round and clear this matter up, as it seems to me so long as the *Komet* is free to molest any small ships conveying stores to this place our position here is precarious."

Captain Lewin sent back a verbal message to the effect that he had orders to proceed to sea, and could not take any action. He explained that he was unable to reply in writing. On the following day Holmes received from Lewin a wireless message:—

"Regret I was unable to comply with your request, but did not consider there was any risk of molestation from the Komet. Sumatra and Nusa could prevent that if it is necessary."

Lewin had overlooked the fact that according to the admiral's instructions the crews of the *Nusa* and *Sumatra* were to be paid off and the ships laid up.

Holmes did not regard the position as one to be accepted with equanimity; moreover he was anxious about the *Moresby*, which was daily expected to arrive at Rabaul with food supplies. He therefore sent for the harbour-master, and directed him to disregard the instructions as to paying off the crew of the *Nusa*. After a conference with Jackson as to the possibility of capturing the *Komet*, Holmes issued to him a commission in the following terms:—

"I hereby order you to take command of the Armed Yacht Nusa. She is to be known as H.M.A.S. Nusa and will, until further instructions, act under my orders only.

"You will have under your command such officers and men as may be required from the Naval Brigade attached to the Expeditionary Force under my command."

The Nusa had been armed with two 3-pounder guns. Holmes directed that one of these should be replaced by a 12-pounder, which had been handed over to him by the

Navy and had been mounted on a field-carriage for land defence. Jackson was further directed to proceed to sea, search the north coast of New Britain, and capture the Komet. A small force of infantry, with a machine-gun, was placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Paton, and embarked in the Nusa, which left Simpson Harbour early on October 9th. On the following night Holmes received an enquiry by wireless from the Navy Office:—

"Thursday Island heard signals in German plain language 4.45 a.m. 7th October, reporting that Australia and all large men-o'-war had left Rabaul going eastward. Did you hear this signal, and can you estimate where it

was made from?"

Holmes replied that the message had not been intercepted at Rabaul, but that a station was believed to be working at Tawanakus Bay⁷ and that an expedition had been despatched in that direction.

On October 13th a wireless message from Jackson to the Administrator announced the capture of the Komet, and a few hours later the two ships were reported as entering Blanche Bay. Making the passage up the harbour, Jackson transferred to the little Nusa, and led the way in, his prize following her captor. By noon the Komet, flying the British flag, lay off Rabaul.

The story of the capture is best told in the following reports by Lieutenant-Colonel Paton and Lieutenant-Commander Jackson:—

"S.S. Komet,

At Sea-13th October, 1914

The Administrator, Rabaul.

Sir.

I have the honour to report that, pursuant to your instructions, I proceeded in the *Nusa* with Lieutenant-Commander Jackson and a party of Naval and Military members of the Expeditionary Force, at 4 a.m. on the 9th instant, for the purpose of (1) clearing up the situation in regard to the Wireless Station working on the Island, and (2) effecting the capture of the *Komet*.

On the north coast of New Britain.

"The Komet has been captured undamaged, and the wireless plant is aboard and in working order.

"The vessel was located at Talassia,8 a small plantation on the North Coast of the Island, about 160 miles S.W. The Nusa anchored at dusk on Saturday. of Rabaul. 10th October, close up to a small island near Talassia. and received there definite information of the Komet's hiding place. At a conference between Commander Jackson and myself that evening, the plan of attack for the next morning was decided upon. Meanwhile a strict watch was kept that no communication could reach the Komet from the Island or the steamer leave her position without being noticed and coming under the fire of our As we steamed along at half speed in the haze at dawn on the 11th, the masts of the Komet were observed through the trees at a range of 1,500 yards. The Nusa went full speed ahead and rounded the point behind which the Komet was sheltering (until then unobserved) and stopped broadside on at a distance of 400 yards. I proceeded in a boat with Mr. Whiteman as Interpreter under a white flag. The Captain was dressing when I reached the Komet and surrendered the ship in response to my demand. The necessary steps were at once taken for the protection of the wireless room, engine room, and all on board disarmed. Commander Jackson then came on board and made all arrangements for the two vessels to leave for Rabaul, and this was accomplished at dawn next Monday 12th.

"I desire to specially bring under your notice the zeal, initiative, and indomitable energy of Commander Jackson, who is mainly responsible for bringing to a successful issue this expedition. His keenness is infectious and has been reflected in the whole of the small party. I need hardly add that the negotiation of the innumerable small reefs on the uncharted coast required all the care and skill of an experienced navigator. He has been ably assisted in this respect by Mr. Komine (Japanese), who volunteered his services en route.

⁸ An alternative spelling of Talasea.

"The preliminary information which enabled us to locate the appropriate position of the captured steamer was supplied by Mr. Whiteman, who accompanied the expedition as Intelligence Officer and has been very useful in many ways.

"I would also like to mention Lieutenant Marsden,9 who fixed the machine-gun in position on the Nusa, worked the range-finder, overhauled the Hotchkiss gun on the Komet, and acted as Executive Officer (Military) when the prize crew was placed aboard the Komet.

"I am sending under separate cover:-

- (1) List of Prisoners (German) .. 5
- (2) List of Crew 52
- (3) List of engagement of crew, shewing wages paid and owing.

J. PATON,

Lieutenant-Colonel."

"H.M.A.S. Komet,

At Sea,

Monday, 12th October, 1914.

Sir,

I beg to submit to you this my report on capture of Komet; undamaged and with wireless intact.

"Acting under your orders, and on information received, I proceeded in Nusa to Talassia, a district on North Coast of Neu Pommern, 170 miles S.W. b. W. from Rabaul, and anchored on the evening of Saturday 10th instant under the lee of a small island off Talassia. This Island has a native village on it, and some of the natives on board Nusa had relations in the village, which at once put matters on a good footing.

"Nusa approached this Island with great caution, keeping close into Neu Pommern coast and feeling her way among the off-lying reefs, thus making use of a line of approach which would never be guarded against by the Komet should she be where we expected.

OLieut Col T R Marsden, DSO Commanded 5th M.G. Bn, A.I.F., 1918. Member of Aust. Permanent Forces; b. Kent, Eng., 13 Aug., 1887.

"Owing to a dense haze our approach was entirely unobserved by Komet (as will be seen later), and from very perfect native information obtained on the island we were able to lie all night with guns trained on spot where Komet must emerge should she leave her anchorage before morning.

"It was impossible to attack on Saturday evening owing to failing light and tortuous channel among reefs.

"At 5.45 a.m. on Sunday, October 11th, Nusa weighed and proceeded towards Komet, approaching in perfect silence, engines at half speed and with white flag at fore. The Native Chief from the Island was on the fore bridge with me and was of great assistance, as the reefs were barely visible at that early hour; also from his information we were able to keep Nusa's guns trained on Komet through trees, she herself being as yet screened from view.

"As Komet's masts appeared over the trees we obtained the exact range—thanks to Lieutenant Marsden's (machine-gun section) range-finder—and we at once increased to "full speed" and came right on to her, completely surprising her crew (Captain of Komet not dressed and shaving himself), Lieutenant-Colonel Paton then proceeding on board Komet in skiff with a white flag—Mr. Whiteman with him as interpreter—and the Komet surrendered.

"Komet carries one machine-gun (firing I lb. shells), which can fire at rate of 35-40 shells a minute, a large number of rifles for native crew and small arms for the officers, but thanks to the haze of Saturday evening and Nusa's inshore approach, Komet was absolutely unprepared and had no other course but to surrender. Nusa's plan of attack was carefully considered by Colonel Paton and myself on Saturday evening, and was decided on for following reasons:—

(1) Should Nusa have kept off at 400 yards and shelled Komet it would have caused damage unnecessarily and loss of life; also Nusa's shell supply is limited.

- (2) Should Komet observe Nusa carrying out active operations against her, her Captain would either have sunk Komet with dynamite or other means, and also would have destroyed wireless
- (3) A German Station was directly in line of fire behind Komet.
- (4) It would probably be necessary to shell trenches and gun-pits ashore after shelling *Komet*, which would have wasted large quantities of shrapnel.
- (5) The German Governor having already surrendered, presumably his yacht should be included in surrender and not be shelled.
- "I would point out the following additional points for your consideration:—
 - (1) Mr. Komine (Japanese) of Rabaul was on board Komet, 10 and thanks to his help and knowledge of natives Komet was exactly located. Mr. Komine showed great enterprise and an absolute indifference to the probability of Nusa receiving Komet's fire; he also showed his great anxiety to help us by abandoning his occupation of salving a wreck off the Talele Islands in order to accompany the expedition.
 - (2) Mr. Whiteman of Rabaul accompanied the expedition, and it was due to information previously obtained by him that Talassia was made our objective.
 - (3) The Military Officer in charge of native labour supplied us with natives from the exact locality where we hoped to find *Komet*, and the success of the expedition is very largely due to his discrimination.

Supplement to paragraph 3.

Since capture of *Komet Mr*. Whiteman has acted as Paymaster of *Komet* and also as Naval Intelligence Officer. Important information *re*

¹⁰ Undoubtedly this should read Nusa.

enemy's merchant cruisers is in Komet's log, and Colonel Paton, with the assistance of Mr. Whiteman, has collected such information.

Mr Whiteman has also made a complete list of stores on board *Komet*, and his business knowledge has saved me an immense amount of trouble, my time being fully occupied in navigating the two vessels under my command.

Lieutenant-Colonel Paton has taken charge of prisoners; two of *Komet's* officers were not on board *Komet*, but Lieutenant-Colonel Paton has taken steps to secure them.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,

> J. M. JACKSON, Lieutenant-Commander, R.N.,

Commanding H.M.A.S. Komet and H.M.A.S. Nusa."

In telling the Minister for Defence, on October 14th, that the Komet had been captured Holmes suggested that the ship might be connected with the message from the Navy Office on October 9th concerning German signals heard by the station at Thursday Island. He also stated that he had placed the Komet in commission, and proposed to send her, with the Acting Governor and certain prisoners of war, to Sydney under Jackson's command; and expressed the desire that for urgent administrative reasons the Komet should be effectively armed and returned to New Guinea at the earliest possible date—with Jackson in command, as his local knowledge was essential.

In a despatch of October 14th Holmes further stated:

"My reasons for recommending that the Komet be armed are that it is necessary to send supplies from here to the principal places in other Islands of the Colony where food is short and natives in some cases almost starving, which may at any time give rise to serious trouble. The outbreak of war has interrupted the regular service. Although it is believed the larger



OFFICERS OF THE RALAUL GARRISON, 1914

H. L. Bruce, W. C. M. Penh. Front row: Licutenant L. B. Ralston, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Paton, Captain S. P. Goodsell, B Sherbon, / М Мацерын, F_Anderson, J Westgarth, P. K. B. Quinn, A. H. L Bruce, W C. M Penly W. Johnson, Captain C. E. Manning Back row (left to right) Lieutenants H. V. II. B. Sampson, I. E. Westgarth, P. K. R. Partridge, R. M. Sadler, H. L. Bruce, W. Ravenscroft, Major A. W. Ralston, Lieutens

		,	

German war vessels have gone South-East, there are still some smaller vessels—possibly the Geier and Planet—in these waters; until they are accounted for, and in the absence of the Australian fleet, merchants will not risk the loss of shipments. When the Komet is effectively armed, she will be able to act with confidence in the protection of trade. Moreover it will be necessary for me to visit Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, Käwieng in New Ireland, Kieta in Bougainville, which I am unable to do at present for want of a suitable vessel. I ask therefore, that no time be lost in dealing with the Komet and returning her to me.

"I cannot speak too highly of the services rendered by Lieutenant-Commander Jackson, who has been most indefatigable and displayed qualities of seamanship of a high order in navigating dangerous waters without being in possession of accurate or reliable charts. It is on account of these capabilities that I ask that he be returned here in command of the *Komet*, and that consideration be given to the question of granting him the rank of Acting Commander as a reward for his services."

CHAPTER IX

THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF NAURU

It will be remembered that the Island Territory—comprising the East and West Carolines, and the Pelew, Marianne, and Marshall groups, all north of the equator—included also

Nauru, which lies just south of the Line. This Territory was governed from Rabaul, and so came within the provisions of the terms of capitulation as part of German New Guinea. Although the dispositions made by Colonel Holmes provided for the establishment of garrisons at



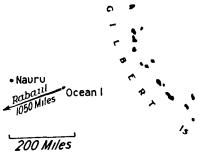
the centres of local administration in these islands—at Yap in the West Carolines, at Angaur in the Pelew group, and at Nauru—an escort of ships of the Royal Australian Navy had not been available, and Admiral Patey's advice was that occupation should be deferred until the German Pacific Squadron had been accounted tor.

Of these islands the most important, because of its valuable commercial interests, is Nauru. It lies in S. latitude 0° 25' and is only twelve square miles in area; its highest point is about 220 feet above the sea. Round this pinnacle of rock extends a lower-level belt, known as the atoll portion, varying in width from 100 yards to a quarter of a mile. This belt merges into a strip of beach, and outside this again is a fringing coral reef, which is bare at low-water spring tides. There is no harbour, and the surf breaks over the reef, so that landing is always difficult, and often impossible. On the western side a jetty and boat-harbour have been built, and here is the European settlement, Yangor. On the eastern side, at a place called Anebare, part of the coral has been blasted away, and there an experienced boat's crew can

effect a landing when the wind is from the west. The outer edge of the reef drops sheer below the water for over 100 fathoms; at a point where strong moorings have been laid down close in by the reef the depth is about 170 fathoms. Only in fairly calm weather can a vessel lie there; as soon as it comes on to blow, she has to slip her moorings and stand out to sea.

When it became known that Nauru is covered with millions of tons of phosphate deposits of exceptionally high grade, it was evident that the island was a commercial and political asset of the first importance. In the year 1900 deposits of this kind had been discovered by the Pacific Islands Company at Ocean Island, an insignificant islet, then little known, lying south of the equator near the Gilbert group. The company thereupon obtained from the natives

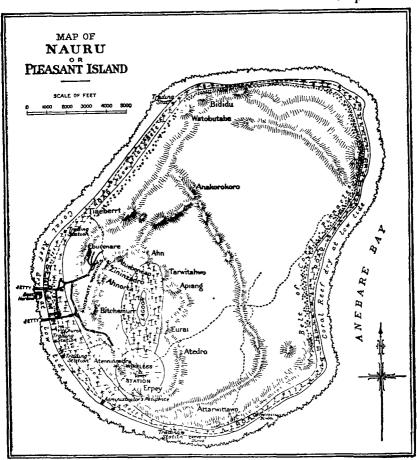
the right to work the deposits, and induced the British Government annex the island, while continuing to prospect elsewhere for phosphate While it was thus engaged in the Marshall Islands. "rock" was phosphate discovered on Nauru. Trading and exploitation rights in the Marshalls



and Nauru were at that time held by a German company, the Jaluit Gesellschaft. With this company the Pacific Islands Company entered into negotiations, and with the sanction of the German Government purchased from it the right to mine and export phosphate. Additional capital, however, was required to carry on this work, and in 1902 the Pacific Phosphate Company was formed to take over the business of the Pacific Islands Company. The position at the outbreak of the war was, therefore, that the Phosphate Company held under the British Government the sole right of mining for phosphate on Ocean Island, and under the German Government, by agreement with the Jaluit Gesellschaft, similar rights with respect to Nauru.

Under the terms of the Ocean Island concession it was provided that at least two-thirds of the directors of the company should be British subjects: the constitution, incorporation, and control of the company were therefore, and always had been, British. But when the company acquired the Nauru concession from the Jaluit Gesellschaft there was inserted in the agreement, at the instance of the German Government, a condition that Nauru interests should be represented by the appointment of two Germans to the The authorised capital of the company was £1,200,000, of which up to the date of the war £787,500 had been issued. The company paid Germany a minimum sum of 25,000 marks a year for the right to mine, and a royalty of half a mark for every ton in excess of 50,000 tons won in each year; this was paid by the company's head office in London direct to the German Government. The District Officer at Nauru used to forward to Rabaul a copy of the manifest of each shipment of phosphate from the island, and the Treasury accounts were credited with the corresponding amount of revenue, which was regarded as part of the revenue of German New Guinea. It was estimated that for the year 1914 the Nauru output would be 150,000 tons; but the outbreak of the war caused a suspension of operations, and the quantity actually exported was between 90,000 and 100.000 tons.

In 1914 there were at Nauru about seventy white employees of the company, of whom about forty were British. The resident manager was German. The company had erected extensive plant and machinery, and sixty or seventy bungalows had been built as residences for the white staff. Head-quarters lay on the western side of the island, where two jetties extend beyond the reef. The method of working the deposits was, and is, as follows. The phosphate rock is crushed, dried, carried by electric traction to the jetty, and loaded from a chute into large baskets in specially constructed surf-boats; these transfer their freight to ships lying at the moorings. If weather conditions are good, from 500 to 800 tons a day can be loaded in this manner, but as soon as the wind freshens the sea becomes too rough to work the boats. A ship may get her loading in briefly alternating spells of



NAURU ISLAND

By courtesy of The British Phosphate Commission.



good and bad weather, or may lie idle for a week at a time waiting for the wind to moderate. The land is owned by the natives of the island, and was leased from them (up to 1919) by the company, which paid them a royalty for every ton of phosphate removed—that is to say, it was paid in the first instance to the colonial Government, and was then distributed among the native owners through the medium of their chiefs. The same system is, of course, continued under the new mandate. Thus the natives of Nauru are comparatively wealthy and, being (like all Polynesians) averse to heavy manual toil, cannot be induced to engage as labourers in connection with the industry itself. So the company found it necessary to recruit about five hundred natives from the Carolines and neighbourhood groups and to bring in about the same number of Chinese coolies under contract.

The value of the monopoly held by the company in Ocean Island and Nauru was enhanced by the fact that only a few islands in the world are known to contain really high-grade deposits of rock phosphate. There are large rock-phosphate fields on Makatea in the Society group, and in the French company which held the right of working them the Pacific Phosphate Company was a shareholder. Angaur in the Pelews, too, is a phosphate island; mining was commenced there by a German company in 1909, and is now carried on by the Japanese. Up to the commencement of the war, however, the output from Angaur was comparatively small, and since then has been entirely absorbed by Japan-a country where, owing to the impoverishment of the soil through intensive cultivation, phosphates are used in great quantities. The existence of the deposits on Makatea and Angaur did not therefore lower the value of those on Ocean Island and Nauru.

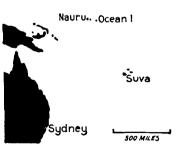
Apart, therefore, from its strategic significance as a link in the chain of German wireless stations, Nauru was of such intrinsic importance that its occupation was discussed quite early in the war between the British and the Commonwealth Governments. On October 14th the Governor-General of

Australia telegraphed to the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific:

"Phosphate Company's steamer Messina leaving this week for Ocean Island. Suggest issuing instructions Commissioner occupy Nauru. Messina will pick up military guard at Rabaul to enforce occupation if necessary, and guard will be returned Rabaul or Australia with German discharged employes Phosphate Company, which company will be held responsible for victualling Nauru."

On receipt of this telegram the High Commissioner referred the question to Admiral Patey for a report. admiral replied that he saw no objection to the proposal, provided the company undertook to provision the island and the Administrator at Rabaul could spare a guard; but no The population, he stated, consisted escort was available. of 30 Germans, 1,700 natives, and 500 Chinese, and there were no organised defences. The Governor-General's telegram and the admiral's report were then referred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who concurred in the proposal, and on October 15th informed the High Commissioner that an officer from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate should proceed by the Messina to take charge at Nauru. same day the Governor-General was officially notified of the proposed arrangement. The officer selected—Charles Workman, Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific, a man to whose tact and personality is due in great measure the fact that no friction arose between the civil and military administrations on Nauru-could not make connection with

the Messina at Ocean Island. He had to proceed from Suva to Sydney, and thence direct to Nauru, so that he did not reach the island until late in December, after it had been occupied by the Australian troops. Prior to his departure from Fiji, Workman received a commission as Administrator of Nauru, and it was proposed by the Secretary of



State for the Colonies and agreed to by the Commonwealth



Naupu, shuming portion of the phosphate company s works, the aerial cable, and the wireless mast.

Photograph taken in July, 1923

Government that he should act for the time being under instructions from the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

On October 24th Colonel Holmes received from the Secretary for Defence a wireless message informing him that the merchant steamer Messing was due at Rabaul: he was to detain her pending further orders, and arrange for a force of two officers and fifty other ranks to be ready to proceed by her to occupy Nauru. She would bring back as prisoners all German residents on the island. Further, the Messina could proceed to Nauru without escort, taking the occupying force with two months' supplies. The military occupation was to be maintained until a representative of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific arrived at Nauru, the civil administration of the island being left in the meantime to the representative of the Pacific Phosphate Company. Holmes was also informed by the Navy Office that the senior German official at Nauru had given his parole on September 9th to the captain of the Melbourne.1

As the issues at stake were of great importance, and as a clear and definite understanding of the relations between the civil and military administration of the island from the commencement of the occupation was essential, Holmes decided that he would himself proceed with the troops to Nauru and carry out the intentions of the Commonwealth Government in such manner as seemed best on the spot. He therefore left Rabaul in the Messina on October 28th taking with him Captain Norrie,2 Lieutenant Fisher,3 and fifty infantry, one machine-gun section, and a detachment of the Army Medical Corps under Captain Donaldson.4

The telegraphic instructions seemed to indicate that the administration of Nauru would eventually come under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, who was already represented by a Resident Commissioner at Ocean Island, 170 miles south-east of Nauru. Holmes was also aware that the only industry on both islands

² See Vol. IX (ch. ii, sec. v).

³ Brigadier E. C. Norrie, C.B., D.S.O., V.D. Commanded 25th Bn, A.I.F., 1916/18 Architect; of Sydney; b. Grafton, N.S.W., 28 Sept. 1885.

³ Lieut, A. D. Fisher. Solicitor; of Sydney; b. North Sydney, 14 Dec., 1882.

⁴ Capt. J. E. Donaldson. 19th Bn., A.I.F. Medical practitioner; of Vaucluse, N.S.W.; b. Wilcannia, N.S.W., 2 July, 1887. Died of illness, 11 Aug., 1916, following wounds received on 26 July. (In New Guinea he served as a medical officer and in France as a computant). officer, and in France as a combatant.)

was that of acquiring phosphates, and that a single company controlled this industry. He therefore decided to proceed first to Ocean Island and confer with the Resident Commissioner there. Reaching Ocean Island on November 3rd, he informed the Resident Commissioner of the nature of his mission, and showed his instructions. The Commissioner who had himself received no instructions from the High Commissioner with regard to Nauru-informed Holmes that on September 6th all the British employees of the company at Nauru-about forty in number-had been deported by the Holmes decided to take them Germans to Ocean Island. back, and with them set out for Nauru on November 5th. At daylight on the 6th the Messina was off the island. was found impossible, owing to the wind, to land at either of the jetties on the western side. Holmes therefore signalled to the Residency (which overlooks the roadstead on the western coast) that he intended to proceed to the lee side and land a staff officer under a flag of truce. He also requested the German Resident Commissioner to come aboard. and when he arrived explained to him that the whole of the German possessions in the Pacific within the jurisdiction of Rabaul had been surrendered to the British: and that he (Holmes) had therefore arrived with an armed force to take possession of the island, hoist the British flag, permanently garrison the place, take over the administration, and remove all Germans as prisoners. The Commissioner was asked for an assurance that there would be no armed resistance, and that property belonging to the German Government, including the wireless station, would not be damaged, but would be peacefully surrendered. This assurance given, the Commissioner was detained on board until troops had been landed to seize the administrative buildings and the wireless station: he was then sent ashore to inform the German residents of the position and to instruct them to report themselves to the occupying force.

The landing of the remaining troops was difficult and slow, and had to be accomplished in surf-boats manned with native crews. The passengers from Ocean Island with their belongings, and the stores and rations for the troops, were then taken ashore in the same way. The German residents

were placed under arrest, their houses searched, and their arms and ammunition collected. They were informed that they would be deported on November 8th by the Messina. It appeared that, since the hurried visit of the Melbourne on September 9th, when the wireless station was put out of action, the feeling against the British had been bitter and After the cruiser had left Nauru a British red ensign had been publicly burned, and after the deportation of the British residents a tombstone had been erected with mock ceremony to the memory of "the departed British." Colonel Holmes has, however, recorded that Wostrack, the Commissioner, adhered scrupulously to his parole and gave all assistance required of him in the transfer of the administration. On landing on November 6th the troops had hauled down the German flag flying at the Residency and had hoisted the Union Jack; but Holmes considered it advisable, in order to impress the natives, to hold a public ceremony the following afternoon and to have the British flag officially hoisted and saluted. The troops and the native police were paraded, the flag was hoisted, and the proclamation of military occupation was read and afterwards interpreted to the natives —of whom large numbers were present at the ceremony under the authority of their chiefs.

Before saluting the flag Holmes held a reception of these chiefs, who were presented to him by the German Resident Commissioner at Government House. He explained to them that he represented the British King, and that the reign of the Germans was over; that, although he was going away, he would leave two officers and many British soldiers to protect them, and that, as long as they and their people did what was right, the King of England would protect them. The British flag, which, he pointed out, was flying over their heads, would not be hauled down. This emphasis on the permanency of the occupation was necessary because the natives could not understand why the landing-party from the Melbourne had returned to the ship, and why the cruiser herself had come and gone in a day.

It was found that very little damage had been done to the machinery and fittings at the wireless station by the Germans after the *Melbourne* had put the installation out of action.

They had not expected that Nauru would be occupied by a British force, and they had the intention of putting the station into working order again. Holmes, impressed with the fact that the restoration of the wireless station would be of incalculable advantage to him, decided that on his return to Rabaul he would arrange for Lieutenant Cresswell, Fleet wireless officer, who had put the Nauru station out of action, to proceed to the island and restore it. That officer had. however, left for Australia two days before Holmes returned to Rabaul.

The administrator appointed by the British Government arrived at Nauru on 25th December and took over the civil administration from Captain Norrie, the officer whom Holmes had left in charge. There was apparent at this time and afterwards, on the part of the very powerful Pacific Phosphate Company, a policy directed towards retaining the virtual control of the island in the hands of the company, and (with this object in view) of bringing continuous pressure to bear on the British Government so as to ensure that the administration of Nauru in the future should be a matter for the British Colonial Office and not for the Commonwealth From that time, although a garrison from Government. Rabaul was maintained on the island throughout the military occupation of German New Guinea, the Administrator of New Guinea ceased to exercise jurisdiction over Nauru except Nominally the island was in military in military matters. occupation, but the control of commercial interests and questions of administrative policy were dealt with through the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

On December 27th Colonel Pethebridge—who afterwards succeeded Colonel Holmes as Administrator of German New Guinea, but who was at this time Australian Commissioner for the Pacific—arrived at Nauru from Rabaul in the transport Eastern and, by arrangement with Holmes, replaced the garrison with a detachment of the force under his command He also brought with him a wireless engineer, Donald Macdonald,6 who had been sent by the Commonwealth

Electrical-Commr. F. G. Cresswell; R.A.N. Of Frankston, Vic.; b. Camberwell,

Vic., 12 Apr., 1880,

^a Lieut. Commr. Telegraphist D. Macdonald. Assistant Engineer for Radio Telegraphy, P.M.G.'s Department; of Melbourne; b. Ascot Vale, Vic., 10 Jan., 1883.



THE OCCUPATION OF NAURU

Gathering of troops, European residents, and natives to withoss the horsting of the Linon Jack, 7th November, 1914.

Taken by F F, Christian, Esq 4ust War Memorial Collection No. A2247

Government to establish wireless stations at various centres in the Pacific and to repair the stations at Nauru and Bitapaka. By December 30th Macdonald had repaired the low-power apparatus of the Nauru station. The task of repairing the high-power plant proved more difficult than was anticipated, and was not completed until Macdonald returned to Nauru early in 1915.

Subsequent to the Treaty of Versailles a mandate for the administration of Nauru was conferred by the Allied and Associated Powers upon the British Empire, and Nauru is now governed in the terms of the Nauru Island Agreement made in July, 1919, between the British, Australian, and New Zealand Governments. The Pacific Phosphate Company was bought out by the Governments, receiving generous compensation; and the Agreement provided that the administration of the island should be vested in an administrator, who for the first term of five years was to be appointed by the Australian Government, and thereafter in such manner as the three Governments might decide. All expenses of the administration (including the remuneration of the administrator and other officers), so far as they are not met by other revenue, are to be defrayed out of the proceeds of the sales of phosphates. The title to the phosphate deposits and to all land, buildings, plant, and equipment on the island used in connection with the working of the deposits is vested in a Board of Commissioners, comprising three members, one appointed by each Government. The three Governments bind themselves not to interfere with these Commissioners in the direction or control of the business of working, shipping, or selling the phosphate, but the good government and care of the inhabitants remain the responsibility of the Administrator,7

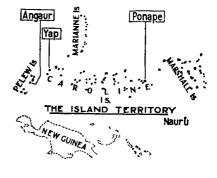
The first Administrator of Nauru, appointed by the Commonwealth, was Brig Gen T. Griffiths.

CHAPTER X

THE NORTH-WEST PACIFIC EXPEDITION

As has already been mentioned, the German wireless station at Yap was on August 12th put out of action by H.M.S. Hampshire of the British China Squadron, and on September 9th the installation at Nauru was rendered inoperative by a landing party from the Melbourne. But the cruisers had merely come and gone, dealt their blows, and passed on to other tasks. While in the Perrima Colonel Holmes had

made arrangements comply more fully with the British Government's suggestions by posting garrisons at Yap, Ponape, Angaur, and the conference at Rossel Lagoon on September oth had submitted detailed recommendations for the occupation of the Island Territory; but after the seizure of



Herbertshöhe, Rabaul, and Madang the admiral was unable to spare ships to escort the force so far from the base. Much against his will, therefore, Holmes had been forced to abandon this part of his plans.

Thus, although both Holmes and the Commonwealth Government had the matter in mind, no steps had so far been taken by Australia to establish a military occupation of the islands north of the equator. Holmes, with his dispositions ready on paper, fretted week after week in Rabaul, but could do nothing without an escort. Admiral Patey, intent on keeping all his ships available for what he conceived to be his first and all-important object—to seek out von Spee's squadron—did not see his way to detach part of them for convoy work. He had in fact recommended that

the activities of the expedition should be confined to New Guinea waters until the German cruisers in the Pacific had been accounted for. After the departure of the Berrima for Sydney on October 4th, Holmes had no troopship at his disposal. The Komet-which was of only 977 tons displacement, and otherwise unsuitable for carrying troops on an extended voyage—had been sent to Sydney to be refitted, armed, and commissioned. There remained only the Sumatra. Siar, Madang, and Meklong, the largest of which, the Sumatra, was of less than 600 tons burthen. The whole four could not accommodate the troops, equipment, and stores necessary for an expedition to the islands north of the line. The military situation in the Pacific remained in this unsatisfactory state throughout the months of September, October, and November.

On October 14th, however, the question of occupying island groups north of the equator had been again raised by the receipt of a cypher telegram, dated October 13th, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

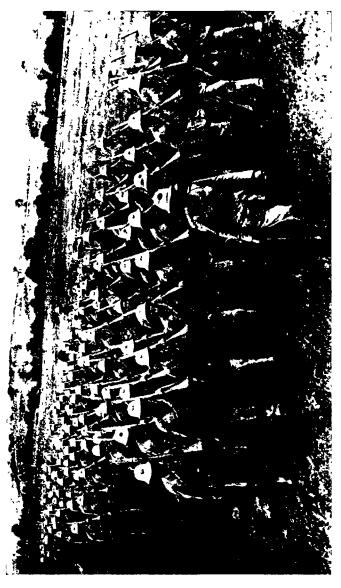
"Secret. Japanese Government state that, in course of searching Western Pacific islands for enemy vessels and bases, squadron called Yap on October 7th and landed marines to investigate wireless telegraph and cable stations there. They found that both had been repaired and used by Germans and since destroyed again. They have temporarily occupied it but they are ready to hand it over to an Australian force. On account of strategical importance island must be occupied by some force. Your Ministers will remember that it was originally intended that they should send force to occupy Yap, and they will no doubt agree that it is desirable to relieve Japanese as quickly as possible of the task of holding the island Japanese Government have therefore been informed it is intention of your Government to occupy Yap, and I am communicating with Admiralty as to provision of transport. Please ask Ministers to arrange in communication with Admiral Patev details of force to be It need not be large and could presumably be detached from force already in occupation of German possessions."

By arrangement with the British Government, ships of the Japanese Navy had been policing the waters of the northern Pacific, and the northern islands constituted a convenient base for these cruisers. Although the Australian Naval Board—and apparently the Australian authorities generally—assumed that these islands had been ceded to the Commonwealth, this was not actually the case, Dr. Haber having merely guaranteed that there would be no military resistance to their occupation; but this misunderstanding together with marked lack of co-ordination between the Australian naval and military authorities, partly explains the developments which followed.

It will be observed that the British Government's telegram referred, not to the whole of the islands which Great Britain had previously asked Australia to occupy, but only to Yap; and, on receiving a copy of the message, the military authorities proposed to organise a special force to occupy this island. To this end on October 15th the Chief of the General Staff informed the military commandants at Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, and Hobart that it might be necessary to send from Sydney or Brisbane a company of infantry with two machine-guns, to occupy an island in the tropics. Men up to fifty years of age would be eligible, a condition which admitted the enrolment of soldiers who possessed South African experience but had been prevented by their age from enlisting in the A.I.F. Service was to be for the duration of the war, and the officers must be experienced men, preferably with knowledge of the tropics.

The British Government's telegram had been communicated also to Admiral Patey, and on October 17th the Naval Board cabled to the Admiralty:

"Cablegram received from Secretary of State for Colonies dated 13th October requests arrangements may be made for occupation of Yap. Military force can now be provided from Simpsonhafen for this purpose Vice-Admiral commanding cannot at present spare Encounter, also Encounter cannot well enter Yap or Ponape. Fully appreciate pressing importance of occupation of Yap by British force. Pending despatch of proposed expedition to make effective occupation of islands could China



3rd Battalion (Tropical Fore), A.N. & M.E.F., training at Liverdol Camp (N.S.W.), Non-Niber 1914

In the foreground is the commanding officer, Major F W Toll

Photo by G Bell Esq. Sydney lent by Col F H. Foll

Squadron detach vessel relieve Japanese care of Yap. Consider desirable to fit out small expedition with Commissioners to report on Government organisation, trade, food supplies, wireless communication, and naval requirements and to take possession Pelew, Marshall, Caroline, and Marianne islands. These islands all included in terms of surrender by Governor Simpsonhafen. Propose to mount four-inch guns in Fantome and Comet and send these vessels with a small supply ship carrying troops and stores also a collier round islands as soon as situation will permit. Fantome and Comet can be manned by Australian Navy. If Pioneer or Encounter available by time expedition ready and any probability of meeting superior force of enemy one or both might be attached to expedition. On account of great distance recommend arrange this cruise round islands in preference to isolated expedition to take possession of single islands."

The military action suggested in this message was different from that contemplated by the military authorities; and, upon the lack of co-ordination being brought to his notice, the Minister for Defence gave instructions that the First Naval Member and the Chief of the General Staff should consult together and frame a recommendation to be cabled to the British Government. Accordingly, on October 26th, a conference was held between Rear-Admiral Creswell² and Captain Thring⁸ (First and Second Naval Members) and Colonel Legge (Chief of the General Staff). The Admiralty (in answer to the Naval Board's cable) had suggested that the small cruiser Pioneer, then forming part of the escort of the first contingent of the A.I.F., should be detached at Cocos Island for the proposed operations. The Pioneer, however, could not be at Rabaul until about December 1st. The conference therefore suggested that, if the Commonwealth Government desired an earlier occupation of Yap, this might be ensured by either (a) sending the gunboat Protector, then at Townsville, to carry or convoy the force, or (b) sending

² Vice-Admiral Sir W. R. Creswell, K.C.M.G., K.B.E.; R.A.N. First Naval Member of Aust. Naval Board, 1911-19; of Silvan, Vic; b. Gibraltar, 20 July, 1852. Died, 20 Apr., 1933

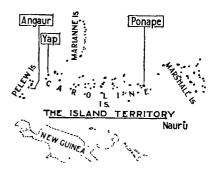
³ Capt. W. H. C. S. Thring. C.B.E., R.A.N.; b. Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, Eng.,

³⁰ May, 1873.

a force of sixty officers and men at once, direct from Rabaul, by one of the small captured steamers. By this time the German East Asiatic Squadron, in consequence of the Japan into the war, had withdrawn entry of stages towards the South American coast. Although this was not yet definitely known, the Naval Board was fairly certain that—except possibly for small cruisers such as the Geier, and two or three merchant cruisers—the north-west Pacific was clear of enemy warships. The risk of sending the force in an unarmed steamer would, therefore, at that time be very small, and the presence of the Protector would in any case make little difference. But the possibility of adopting either alternative would depend on there being then a sufficient supply of coal at Rabaul.

These recommendations related only to plans for the immediate occupation of Yap. To occupy the whole of

the northern islandsthe Carolines, Marshalls, Pelews, and Mariannes -it was considered that an expedition on a larger scale must be sent; and, as these places were obviously of great strategic importance from point of view future naval defence of Australia, it was posed that naval the



authorities should collaborate with the military in making the arrangements. A force of 200 should be sufficient to garrison the principal islands, and the ship conveying them should carry also three months' shore provisions for the force, including coal and the plant for four wireless telegraph sets, with subsidiary low-power apparatus for rapid erection. The expedition was to be fitted out at Sydney, in time to reach Rabaul at about the same date as the *Pioneer*; endeavours would also be made to arm and prepare the *Komet* (then about to be re-named the *Una*) to accompany it from Sydney.

On the next day after that on which the conference met, an anxious inquiry was received from the British Government as to when a reply concerning Yap might be expected. A cablegram was accordingly at once sent—

"With reference to your secret telegram dated 13th October re Yap, &c. Force consisting of 200 men being organised to garrison principal islands. Particulars as to dates, convoy, &c., will be cabled later on."

It has been explained that the despatch of a smaller force immediately to occupy Yap was dependent upon whether coal was available at Rabaul. On October 28th it was ascertained by the Navy Office that there was no such supply. The proposed smaller expedition thus fell through, and with it there disappeared the last chance of participation by Holmes's force in the occupation of the northern islands.

Attention was therefore now concentrated on the expedition for occupying the several groups—a course which the Australian Government at this time fully believed to be desired and intended by the British Government. It was decided that the Department of External Affairs should send a representative with the expedition, to inquire into the questions of restoring and encouraging trade and the supply of food to the islands. The force was to be commanded by a major and to consist of four companies, each comprising three officers, one medical officer, and fifty other ranks. The medical examination was to be strict, in view of the climate. The troops were to concentrate before November 14th in Sydney, where they would be equipped.

This unit was known as the "Tropical Force" or the "Third Battalion of the Naval and Military Expeditionary Force." The call for volunteers "for service in the tropics" was answered within a few days by four or five times the number required. As had been expected, these included many men past the prime of military life, and among them a surprisingly large proportion wore the ribbons of the South African War. Many had previously been rejected by the

⁴ It was intended that the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, Judge Murray, should join the expedition at Port Moresby and act as the representative of the Department of External Affairs.

^{*}The rst Battalion was that commanded by Col. Watson; the 2nd—the troops embarked in the Kabajuna. The term "Tropical Force" was loosely used, and should probably cover the detachments (wireless, &c.), which were not under Major Toll's command, as well as the "3rd Battalion."

A.I.F. and a proportion of elderly men-possibly having learned the wisdom of under-stating their age-were accepted at this second attempt. The presence of these veterans, notwithstanding the strong leaven of young men, gave to the Third Battalion the nickname of "The Druids"—an appellation which stuck fast during the whole period of its existence. Holmes's original force became known, in comparison and revenge, as "The Kindergartens."

By November 13th the full quotas from most of the States had assembled at Liverpool, near Sydney, and the equipping of the Tropical Force was being speedily carried out. Major Toll.6 who on November 7th had been appointed officer commanding the battalion, immediately took the training in hand. The graceful clipper-bowed Eastern, belonging to the Eastern and Australian Line, was chartered as a transport; she was fitted up to accommodate 220 officers and men, provisioned for two months, and by November 26th was ready, loaded down to her marks with coal, water, frozen meat, food supplies, and camp equipment.

The command of the expedition was offered to and accepted by the Secretary for Defence, Commander Pethebridge. Born at Brisbane, Pethebridge was fifty-two years of age at the time of his appointment to control the Tropical Force. He had received his early education partly in State schools at Brisbane and Townsville, partly from a course of Two years of his boyhood were spent, for private tuition. health's sake, in the solitudes of Cape Bowling Green lighthouse on the Queensland coast; and there he drank in a love for the sea and ships and sailormen which was ever afterwards in his blood. Early in his teens he decided to make his own way in the world; on the 21st of September, 1876, at the age of fourteen, he entered the Queensland public service in the Ports and Harbours Department. In a few years he proved that he had the gift of appraising and handling men, as well as a great capacity for work. His promotion was consequently rapid, and he became Secretary of the Marine Board, and subsequently of the Marine Department of Queensland

⁶Col F W. Toll, DSO, MBE, VD. Commanded 3rd Bn, AN, & M.E.F., 1914/15; 31st Bn., A.I.F., 1915/19 Company manager, of Mount Molloy, Q'land; b Bowen, Q'land, 18 Jan, 1872

⁷Although the Esstern was fitted out for 220 officers and men, the actual number embarked was 249 of all ranks (30 officers and 219 others).



Brigadier-Genfral Sir Samuel Pftherridge, Military Administrator of German New Guinea, 1915-1918

Taken by Lieut J T Tennent, 4 V & M F I

To face p 154.



Extending the scope of his seafaring interests, he became intimately associated with the Queensland Navy. At that date Queensland had definite ideas about coastal defence and a fleet unit. One of the results was the creation of a Naval Brigade, in which Lieutenant Pethebridge gained a reputation as a smart and efficient officer. Part of the training of the Naval Brigade was carried out in the gunboats Gayundah and Paluma, and Pethebridge served his time in both these ships.

The experience thus gained both afloat and ashore was destined to stand him in good stead when the great opportunity came. It came with the birth of the Commonwealth at the beginning of the century. Confronted with the task of establishing Federal departments, the Commonwealth Government focussed its attention upon the senior personnel of the public service of the States. The Secretary of the Marine Department of Queensland was so prominent a figure with so sterling a record that he could not be overlooked, and out of candidates from all the States he was selected for the position of Chief Clerk of the new Defence Department. On his senior going to London as Official Secretary to the Commonwealth, Pethebridge became Acting-Secretary for Defence, and subsequently Secretary for Defence and permanent head of the department.

Into the organising and despatch of the North-West Pacific expedition he threw not only his characteristic energy and thoroughness but also a kind of boyish enthusiasm for the adventure. The feeling that adventure lay just beyond the rim of the horizon, and might at any moment be encountered, never wholly died in the hearts of members of the Tropical Force, and it undoubtedly helped to sustain them throughout the long period of the military occupation of New Guinea, when they would otherwise have found almost intolerable the monotony of exile and their enforced exclusion from the main currents of the war.

The instructions given on November 14th to Pethebridge by his Minister, Senator Pearce, were:

"The Government desire you to proceed with the troops being sent to occupy the islands recently held by Germany north of the equator.

"2. Your mission will be:-

- (a) To visit the various islands and possessions in the Pacific Ocean, recently held by Germany, and to be occupied by Great Britain
- (b) To place such troops in occupation as may be available, thus relieving any members of the Japanese Forces who may be now temporarily in occupation.
- (c) To establish wireless telegraph communication where desirable.
- (d) To take control of all immediate matters affecting trade, commerce, settlement, communications, supplies, currency, defence, shipping, navigation, police, posts, native or alien questions, and any other matter calling for attention pending final settlement of occupation of Territory.
- (e) To obtain the fullest information relating to any of the aforesaid matters, for communication with recommendation to the Commonwealth Government.
- (f) If in the public interests any immediate action appears to be necessary or desirable, you are authorised to take such action, reporting the circumstances at the earliest opportunity to the Commonwealth Government.
- "3. In order that you may be enabled to fulfil this mission, all officers of His Majesty's naval or military forces, together with any of His Majesty's subjects, are desired to furnish you with such facilities and render such assistance as may lie within their power.
- "4. In carrying out your mission the Government do not desire you to take any action with regard to any matters affecting the possessions south of the equator, with which the Administrator at Rabaul has already dealt."

The Government then cabled to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

"With reference to your telegram of the 13th October steamer Eastern with 200 troops and about 15 naval wireless details escorted by Komet will leave Sydney 26th November to relieve Japanese now occupying Yap and other islands north equator and to establish wireless where possible. Expedition in charge Pethebridge Secretary Defence with authority to take any necessary immediate action and report as to present needs trade supplies shipping and other matters."

On the 21st Pethebridge, who consequent upon his acceptance of the mission had been appointed "Australian Commissioner for the Pacific," was transferred to the military arm, with the rank of colonel, to command the Tropical Force.8 The same day he left Melbourne for Sydney and there took charge of the final arrangements for the despatch of the expedition.9

While, however, the preparations for the departure of the expedition were being hurried on, the situation in the Pacific had developed, and the plans of the Commonwealth Government in regard to the Island Territory were at this stage subjected to a dramatic interruption. In the course of certain earlier correspondence with the British Government it had been decided that the difficulty of supplying food to the natives and garrison precluded the immediate occupation of the island of Angaur. Now, however, that an expedition was visiting the northern islands, the Naval Board suggested November 3rd) that this island should be included among those to be garrisoned. On November 21st this suggestion was communicated to London. Two days later the British Government replied:

"With reference to your telegram 21st November it would be discourteous and disadvantageous to the Japanese if we turned them out of Angaur when they

⁸ See footnote 5 on p 153 * See postnote 3 on p 133

Among other presentations, for the benefit of his troops and of those under Holmes, Pethebridge received a gift of 319 carcases of sheep from the Pastoralists' Association of New South Wales. As the Eastern had ample freezing accommodation, and as there were refrigerating works at Rabaul, Pethebridge purchased a further 500 carcases of sheep, 30 tons of beef, and 2½ tons of butter. These were intended for use ashore He also bought a quantity of "trade goods" in view of possible relations with the island natives.

are helping us in every way with their Fleet throughout Pacific and in convoy Australian contingents. Japanese are now erecting a wireless station on Angaur which they wish to use in connection with their Fleet movement."

The telegram further conveyed the request that Australian ships be instructed "not to call at Angaur or to interfere with its present occupation by Japan. This of course is without prejudice to permanent arrangements which will have to be made after the war when we come to settle terms of peace."

This reply caused intense surprise to the Australian authorities, who—having had no word to the contrary—had been under the impression that the occupation of Angaur was in accordance with the full desire of the British Government, as expressed in its original telegram.¹⁰ The mistake was not unnatural, since in Australia nothing had been known which would distinguish the proposed occupation of Angaur from that of Yap, then being urged by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Immediately after the arrival of this telegram Pethebridge, being about to sail from Sydney, had an interview with the Consul-General for Japan. In the course of conversation the consul-general referred to a statement in the press relative to the occupation of German possessions, and inquired whether the proposal included the Marshalls, Carolines, and Ladrones. Pethebridge intimated that it did, and from the consulgeneral's subsequent remarks he inferred that there existed some sort of misunderstanding. He therefore telegraphed to the Defence Department the gist of his conversation, and suggested that it was desirable to cable to England asking definitely what places were to be understood as included in the cablegram received on October 14th from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Minister accordingly despatched the following inquiry:—

"With reference to your telegram of 13th October regarding Yap please telegraph whether whole group of Caroline, Ladrone, Marshall, and Pelew Islands except Angaur may be occupied by Australian expedition."

By a strange coincidence this message crossed a cablegram conveying the definite announcement of a radical

¹⁰ See pp. 5-6.

¹¹ Another name for the Marianne group.



To lane p 158 MEN OF THE TROPIC OF FOME PARAPER FOR INDUCTION, LIVERPOOL CAMP, NOVEMBER 1914 Photo by G Bell Esq., Sydney, lent by Col F 11 Toll



change of Imperial policy in the Pacific. On November 24th the Secretary of State for the Colonies had sent a message in cypher:

"With reference to your cypher telegram November 21st and my telegram November 23rd we think it desirable for the present the expedition to occupy German islands should not proceed to any islands north of equator. I hope to telegraph further shortly."

It was evident that the British Government was faced with a very delicate diplomatic situation, and to ensure that the Commonwealth would not unwittingly contribute complications the Secretary of State took pains to make unmistakably clear the sequence of the telegrams that had been exchanged. Following upon his momentous telegram of the 24th he cabled again:

"November 25th your telegram November 24th as to German islands see my telegram same date which crossed When will ships reach Rabaul."

In these embarrassing circumstances the Commonwealth Government perceived a divided duty. On the one hand it did not wish to adopt a policy which would cause difficulties to the Imperial Government; on the other hand it considered that Australia had geographical and strategic claims to the occupancy of these islands, possession of which by any Power other than Great Britain would profoundly affect the trend of Australia's naval defence policy in the future. Moreover a consideration of present importance was that the organisation and equipping of the Tropical Force were nearly completed and the transport lay ready to sail. In this quandary the Commonwealth Government resolved to advise Pethebridge of the new development and stay his hand, while at the same time stating the case very plainly to the Imperial authorities.

Accordingly on November 25th the British Government's message of the previous day was "very urgently" repeated to Pethebridge with instructions to delay the sailing of the expedi-On the same day a cablegram was sent to London:

"With reference to your telegram of 24th November and mine of same date had arranged for expedition for occupation of German islands to sail 26th November and troops already embarked. Islands mentioned in my telegram, namely, Pelew, Marianne, Caroline, and Marshall Islands, form part of German New Guinea administrative area which was included in surrender by Governor of New Guinea. Would like early and definite information as to what is now desired. Expedition will not sail pending reply."

On this day the cross-currents that were in motion were curiously illuminated by the arrival of a telegram, from the British Commander-in-Chief on the China Station, to the effect that the Japanese Admiralty stated that a man-of-war would be sent to Yap to carry out the ceremony of handing over the island to the Australian expeditionary force. The message concluded with a request to be informed of the probable date of the expedition's arrival.

On December 3rd came the decisive telegram from the British Government:

"December 3rd with reference to your cypher telegram November 25th and to previous telegrams as to occupation of German islands in the Pacific, as Pelew, Marianne, Caroline Islands, and Marshall Islands are at present in military occupation by Japanese who are at our request engaged in policing waters Northern Pacific, we consider it most convenient for strategic reasons to allow them to remain in occupation for the present, leaving whole question of future to be settled at the end of war. We should be glad therefore if the Australian expedition would confine itself to occupation of German islands south of the equator."

This message was acknowledged on December 5th, the Secretary of State for the Colonies being informed that his Government's wishes would be complied with.¹²

In the meantime Pethebridge had succeeded in obtaining the Government's permission to sail for New Guinea, there to await the final decision. He had pointed out that prolonged delay in Sydney would be detrimental to the morale of his troops; and that if, in the event, his force was not required

There is good authority for believing that the change of policy with regard to the islands north of the equator was the outcome of riots at Tokyo, amounting to a demonstration by a section of the Japanese public against handing over the islands to Australia. Influenced by this evidence of a strong public opinion concerning the matter, the Japanese Government decided to retain possession of these island groups. See Vol. IX, ch. v

for the islands north of the equator, it might be utilised to relieve some of Holmes's troops; if this were done the expenditure which had been incurred in fitting up the Eastern would still have a useful result. Moreover, during the last week of November, while the despatch of the Tropical Force was still a matter of uncertainty, the Commonwealth Government received information which seemed to indicate that there was a German station, strongly held, about sixty miles up the Sepik River on the mainland of German New Guinea. This

news partly influenced the Government in allowing Pethebridge to sail, and Colonel Legge hinted to him in a telegram that there might be a "decent scrap." It was decided that the Tropical Force, in co-operation with Holmes's force



from Rabaul, should act against the reported enemy. Accordingly a telegram was sent by the Chief of the General Staff to Pethebridge, which, decoded by him on November 28th. read as follows:

"The following orders are being issued to Colonel Holmes per Commandant, 1st Military District. You will co-operate and put your troops at his disposal. Order Send following orders to Colonel begins. Secret. Holmes, Administrator, Rabaul, under seal. naval officer, Brisbane, will arrange for this document to be taken by destroyers calling on the way north and deliver at Wilhelmshafen.18 Orders begin. In accordance with wireless instructions sent already you will consult with Commander destroyers and proceed to Kaiserin Augusta River,14 where the destroyers will block existing enemy vessel. Troops together with Nusa will seize mission station on coast forty miles west by north mouth of river, where a small branch of same enters Prevent any residents escaping. German station with armed ship and troops reported sixty miles up river where the branch meets it. Do not take too much risk

pending arrival Eastern with 200 more troops and Una with three 4-inch guns and two seaplanes. will arrive later if required. If enemy's force will not surrender they will be informed that they will be treated as rebels or pirates. Legge. Orders end. In order to ensure this correctly decyphered repeat orders back to Order ends. The following message is being despatched direct by wireless to Colonel Holmes. Message begins. Arrange to proceed with three companies and field and machine guns and one month's provisions in vessels available. Destination to be obtained from destroyer Yarra on arrival about November 30th. Nusa and Gabriel and any sea-going motor launches available. Other destroyers will meet you there with full instructions. Have all small island craft at Rabaul held up for one week after your departure. Message ends. Legge."

Upon receipt of these instructions Pethebridge, on November 28th, sailed from Sydney direct for Madang. At that time the final decision of the British Government concerning the northern islands had not been intimated to the Australian Government. Upon receipt of that intimation both Pethebridge and Holmes (who had been informed of the proposed expedition) were advised by wireless of the changed position. Pethebridge, however, did not actually receive the information until December 12th, when the Eastern was at Madang.

The primary object of the North-West Pacific Expedition had thus suddenly and unexpectedly disappeared, and it was sailing upon an entirely different venture. While at Liverpool Camp the members of the Tropical Force had been inoculated against typhoid; and all who had not been vaccinated within the preceding two years were treated during the voyage. With Pethebridge went Lieutenant-Commander Noel Hardy, 16 sent by the Naval Board to advise on wireless matters in relation to naval defence, and Donald Macdonald, engineer-incharge of what was known as the "Pacific Scheme" for erecting wireless stations at selected points in German New Guinea, and for restoring the damaged German stations at Bitapaka and Nauru. Its original scope included also the

¹⁵ Capt. H. N. M. Hardy, D.S O.; R.N. Of London; b. South Kensington, London, 1 Dec., 1884.

reconditioning of the wireless stations at Angaur, Yap, and Jaluit. This scheme, submitted by John Graeme Balsillie, the engineer-in-charge of radiotelegraphy, had been approved by the Commonwealth Government. Macdonald had with him a party of experts from the radiotelegraph branch with two wireless sets of a strength of one and a half kilowatts and fitted with the Marconi rotary spark. These sets were complete except for the masts and rigging material, which could not be taken by the Eastern, but were to be sent later by the Signal.

The presence of this party in the transport proved fortunate. Although the Eastern was supposed to have been efficiently fitted with a wireless installation before leaving Sydney, Macdonald and his staff found it necessary to devote considerable attention to an overhaul of the apparatus before it was got into working order. For the work that lay before the expedition it was essential that wireless communication could be readily established at any time with Rabaul and with any ships of the Royal Australian Navy in New Guinea waters.

The exact whereabouts of certain of the smaller German warships were at this time unknown, but it was supposed that some might still be in the vicinity of New Guinea. Though for this reason Pethebridge considered it advisable during the voyage to Madang not to use the Eastern's wireless set except for sending most urgent messages, he was constantly in receiving-touch with the various land-stations, particularly with Rabaul; for he expected that Holmes would acquaint him by wireless with the salient details of the proposed operations. Yet although the Eastern was likely to make Madang by the morning of December 7th, the night of the 6th passed without any message or instructions either from Holmes or from the commander of the destroyers.

That same night Pethebridge assembled his officers and informed them what they would probably be expected to do when they joined up with Holmes's force. The actual locality of the operations was not disclosed; and when, after the conference was over, the party filed out of the darkened saloon of the Eastern and saw the faint loom of the New Guinea coast they wondered, as they lingered on deck in the tropical night, what things the sudden sunrise would reveal.

It has already been stated that Holmes had been instructed by wireless to proceed, with three companies and field- and machine-guns and one month's provisions, to a destination to be notified to him by the Yarra on her arrival at Rabaul about November 30th. Holmes received this radiogram on November 28th in a mutilated form, the word "three" being decoded as "united." The Yarra arrived on December 1st, and the following message received by her from the Naval Board was communicated to Holmes:

"From Rabaul you are to proceed to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen with Elax arriving there on December 4th. Warrego and Parramatta will meet you there with orders. Cover transportation of troops to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen if the Administrator desires it. Nusa should accompany you. Gabriel¹⁶ if met with is to be seized and taken with you. Give out falsely destination Bougainville. Inform Colonel Holmes of your destination. Acknowledge receipt of this."

In view of this message to the officer commanding the Yarra, and of the instructions he himself had received, Holmes -though not aware of the exact nature of the work to be done by the expedition—decided to despatch to Madang two companies of Naval Reserves with one 12-pounder gun, one machine-gun, and one month's provisions. commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Bracegirdle, left Blanche Bay on December 2nd in the Siar and the Nusa. escorted by the Yarra.¹⁷ Holmes desired to accompany the contingent in person, especially in view of his uncertainty as to the nature of the work. But at any moment Pethebridge might reach Rabaul with the Una and Eastern; and Holmes intended then, in compliance with the instructions of November 21st. 18 to take a detachment in the Eastern to Bougainville and carry out the military occupation of the German Solomon Islands—where, it will be remembered, the Government anticipated opposition. When he despatched Bracegirdle to Madang, he had no intimation that any change of plans was contemplated for the Una and Eastern, or that their departure from Sydney had been deferred beyond November 26th-the

¹⁸ See pp 166-7.

17 The oil-tanker Elax also sailed from Rabaul the same morning for the rendezvous
18 See pp 117-9.

date of which he had been advised—for his latest orders had been sent by the *lVarrego* for delivery to him personally at Madang instead of being sent by wireless telegram direct to Rabaul.¹⁹

In this manner it befell that, when the Eastern arrived off Madang at 9 o'clock in the morning of Monday, December 7th, Holmes was not there, and Pethebridge's plans for reporting to him and placing at his disposal the troops in the Eastern were radically changed. As the transport opened up the narrow entrance to Madang there came into view the Warrego, lying at anchor in the harbour, and the Nusa, Gabriel, and Siar tied up to the wharf. Commander Cumberlege of the Warrego, Major Martin (the officer commanding garrison). and Lieutenant-Commander Bracegirdle immediately came off to the Eastern, and Pethebridge then discovered that he could not join up with Holmes, whose sealed orders were still in the Warrego unopened. Cumberlege had understood from his instructions that he was to meet Holmes at Madang. Bracegirdle said that his orders from Holmes were to embark at Rabaul with 170 men in the Siar and the Nusa and proceed to Madang, where he would receive further instructions. Martin had received no instructions at all from Holmes, and knew nothing about the proposed operations.

After discussing the situation with Cumberlege, Pethebridge considered it essential that Holmes should be informed at once of the instructions conveyed under seal. fore endeavoured to despatch a wireless message announcing his own arrival at Madang and stating that sealed orders for the Administrator were in the Warrego. His radiogram added that he had a copy of these orders which were in effect as now transmitted by him. After reciting Holmes's orders he intimated that his own were—to co-operate and place his force at Holmes's disposal. He had consulted the commander of the destroyers, and, assuming Bracegirdle's force was all Holmes proposed to send, he himself would, unless Holmes desired otherwise, carry out the plan of operations suggested by the Chief of the General Staff. Pethebridge also informed Holmes that the *Una* was expected to arrive at Madang in two days' time.

Owing to the combined effects of "atmospherics," faulty arrangements at Madang, the weakness of the Eastern's apparatus, and the unsatisfactory transmitting-conditions between Port Moresby and Rabaul, great difficulty was experienced in getting this message through. Macdonald and his party made strenuous endeavours to improve the conditions ashore, but it was not until December 13th that Holmes received the message which Pethebridge had endeavoured to despatch six days earlier.

While matters were in this state, and Pethebridge was endeavouring to establish communication with Holmes, the troops were taken ashore each day and given instruction and practice in musketry and field manœuvres.

Suddenly on December 8th the outlook was entirely When the destroyers arrived at Madang, a small steamer called the Gabriel, belonging to the Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost, at Port Alexis (about twelve miles farther north along the coast), had been detained. This vessel was the link of communication between the various stations of the Roman Catholic missions on the mainland of German New Guinea, and her master (one of the lay brothers of the Mission)20 was intimately acquainted with the northeastern coast and with the Sepik. It was therefore suspected that he might give information of the number and movements of the Australian destroyers and transports to the armed German vessel mentioned by the Chief of the General Staff,21 and to the officer commanding the German troops who were supposed to be in the same locality. When Pethebridge reached Madang the Gabriel was still held up.

The Prefect of the Mission had already protested to Cumberlege against the detention of the steamer, affirming that she was engaged solely in the work of the Mission, and that the master had no intention of conveying information as to the movements of the Australian force; but Cumberlege, in view of the military situation as he saw it, did not feel justified at this stage in releasing the ship. On the day following

²⁰ According to the available records the names of the missionaries then with the Gabriel were: Father Limbrock, Prefect of the Mission of the Holy Ghost. Father Callisters, of the Caroline Islands Mission; and Brother Camisiers, master of the mission steamer.

 $^{^{22}\,\}mathrm{In}$ his cypher message (see pp. 161-2) to Col. Pethebridge and in the sealed orders to Col. Holmes.



THE OCCUPATION OF MADANG, 1914

Naval flagstaff dressed to celebrate the arrival of s.s Matunga with supplies.

laken by II H. Lucas, Esq. lent by Col. F. B. Herntage 4wst. II av Memonal Collection No. 13103.

Pethebridge's arrival the Prefect of the Mission—accompanied this time by a priest from another mission—again applied for the release of the Gabriel, stating that the missions were dependent upon the steamer for supplies, and that the work of the different stations was being disorganised. Cumberlege brought the two priests to Pethebridge, and statements made by them during the interview threw doubt on the reports that the Germans were in force at the Sepik River. So convinced. indeed, were the two officers that the statements of the missionaries were correct, that they decided to take the Warrego and Nusa and reconnoitre up the river. The Yarra and Parramatta were to wait off its mouth, maintaining communication with Cumberlege by wireless. At the suggestion of the missionaries it was decided to take them, and also the Gabriel's captain, in the Warrego: should the situation render the step necessary, they could be sent ashore with a flag of truce.

The troops were therefore left behind at Madang, and Pethebridge embarked in the Warrego on the night of December 8th. On the following morning the destroyer arrived off the entrance to the Sepik, where she was joined by the Parramatta. The latter vessel was instructed to wait for and convoy the Nusa, which had left Madang two hours before the IVarrego. Cumberlege then proceeded forty miles up-stream to the German mission station at Marienberg This section of the river is broad, with low marshy banks

covered with wild sago-bush and other dense growth. chart seized Madang at proved to have reliable soundings. At Marienberg a party made enquiries from the German missionary, who told them that the only Germans farther up were the police officers at Angorum (twenty miles above Marienberg) and, hundreds of miles beyond Angorum, a German



scientist, Dr. Thurnwald, and the engineer of his launch. On receipt of this intelligence Pethebridge sent a native messenger ahead with a letter to the German police officer.

The same evening the *Parramatta* and *Nusa* arrived, and the three ships lay off Marienberg for the night. Early the next morning Pethebridge, Cumberlege, and Lieutenant Commander Warren²² of the *Parramatta* transferred to the little *Nusa*, which was in charge of Lieutenant-Commander Hardy and was armed with the Maxim and the 12-pounder field-gun brought from Rabaul. Pethebridge was also accompanied by Major Strangman,²³ Captain Field-Martell,²⁴ and Lieutenant Willis²⁵ of the Tropical Force.

In spite of a three-knot ebb-tide current the Nusa succeeded in making Angorum by I o'clock in the afternoon of that day. Soundings taken throughout the voyage showed that the shallowest cast was four fathoms, the average depth being ten. At Angorum the party was met at the landing-stage by the German resident medical officer, Wolfrum. He was in the grip of malarial fever but was able to explain that the police officer, upon receiving Pethebridge's letter two hours earlier, had fled into the dense bush, taking with him about thirty police boys. Angorum was found to be a well-chosen station on rising ground commanding an extensive view of the reaches of the Sepik. From the information gained there the leaders of the expedition were satisfied that no good purpose would be served by proceeding farther up-river. The Nusa therefore headed down-stream for Marienberg. German medical officer was brought down the river to the mission, where he signed the oath of neutrality. He had expressed his strong disapproval of the police officer's flight, and had readily offered the Nusa every assistance in his Pethebridge then proceeded in the Warrego to Madang, which was reached in the morning of December 12th. From this place he despatched to the Minister for Defence

²² Commr. W. H. F. Warren, D.S.O., R.A.N. Of Sydney, b. Logie Elphinstone, Scotland, 19 Oct., 1877. Drowned in Brindisi Harbour, 13 Apr., 1918.

²² Col. C. L. Strangman; AAMC. Medical practitioner; of Adelaide; b 1 Aug, 1867.

²⁴ Capt. H. H. Field-Martell, A.A.M.C. Medical practitioner, of Sydney and Fremantle; b. Ballarat, Vic., 7 June, 1880.

[&]quot;Lieut (temp. Capt) V. A. B. Willis. Stock and share broker, of Sydney; b. Newcastle, N.S.W., 21 Feb., 1866.

²⁶ At Angorum a search of the Government station was made; twelve Mauser rifles, two shot-guns, ammunition, provisions, and anything considered to be of military use were seized and taken away in the Nusa.



H M. Australian destroyer Warrego in the Sepik River



The Ausa, tollowed by HMAS. Paramatta, near the river mouth.



The police station at Angorum



Pethebridge and party at Angorum.

and to Colonel Holmes wireless messages (of which, however, Holmes received only a few words) conveying the result of The next four days were devoted to his reconnaissance. making the ships ready for the voyage to Rabaul. In this matter unexpected difficulty was experienced in coaling the Una and Elax, and in getting sufficient fresh water for these two ships and the Eastern. An endeavour was made to obtain water from the mission at Port Alexis, but after one and a half days' work only a hundred tons of brackish water was got-and to win this it was found necessary to rig up piping to the length of about a mile.

The Una and the Elax had to be coaled from the Eastern by native labour, and progress was very slow. Each ship needed two hundred tons, and though the task of supplying the Elax was begun at 6 o'clock on the evening of December 13th, and the gangs worked all night, by 6 o'clock the following morning only fifty tons had been transferred. Pethebridge, anxious to confer with Holmes at Rabaul, chafed at this intolerable slowness and thought seriously of giving the Una half her quantum of coal and going on in her to Rabaul, leaving the Eastern to follow as soon as she had completed the coaling of the Elax. In the end, however, when it became clear that the Una could be got away only a few hours earlier than the Eastern, he decided to remain in the latter, and on December 15th left Madang for Rabaul.

While at Madang Pethebridge had conferred with Cumberlege and Martin as to the necessity for further action within that area. As a consequence of this discussion he communicated by wireless with Defence Headquarters, stating that he considered it most desirable that all rivers and harbours from the Dutch boundary eastward to Huon Gulf should be thoroughly examined, in order definitely to ascertain whether any Germans or vessels were there. He also proposed that the north-east portion of New Guinea, owing to its isolation and the difficulty of communication with Rabaul, should be administered separately; and, as Martin did not appear well enough to continue service there much longer, recommended that Cumberlege be appointed acting-administrator for that part of the Territory.

It appears strange that at this stage, and without reference to or consultation with Holmes, Pethebridge should have made recommendations relative to matters which, it might have been assumed, fell solely within the jurisdiction of the Administrator of New Guinea. Especially is this remarkable in view of the original instructions given to him that "in carrying out your mission the Government do not desire you to take any action with regard to any matters affecting the possessions south of the equator, with which the Administrator at Rabaul has already dealt." Pethebridge apparently took the view that these instructions had been cancelled by the abandonment of the North-West Pacific Expedition, and that, in his capacity as Secretary for Defence, he now had a general authority to make recommendations to the Minister, with whom his relations had naturally been most intimate and confidential. In this he may have been right. It must, however, be frankly admitted that in his reports to Melbourne (both on this occasion and, later, on that of his first arrival at Rabaul) he evinced a tendency to embark upon hasty and rather sweeping criticism of the structure of the military administration adopted by Holmes. Yet it was the same structure which he himself subsequently retained, with little modification. With the knowledge he afterwards acquired of conditions in New Guinea, he would have strengously opposed the partition of the Territory into two independent administrative spheres, which would, in fact, have been a serious mistake, retarding the growth and destroying the cohesion of the administration.

In his report to Melbourne from Madang Pethebridge also stated that most of the troops forming the garrison there, as well as Bracegirdle's men who had been sent from Rabaul for the Sepik River expedition, were discontented and anxious to return to Australia as were also, he was informed, the remainder of Holmes's force. As the islands north of the equator were now beyond Australian jurisdiction, he said he would proceed to Rabaul, taking back with him the greater part of Bracegirdle's contingent, and would then report more definitely how to utilise the *Eastern* troops. It would, he continued, be necessary to relieve the garrison at Nauru. On his return from Nauru the members of the Tropical Force

not required as relief garrisons for outstations could replace some of Holmes's troops, who could then be returned to Australia in the Eastern. The Una would be retained by him.

At the same time Cumberlege informed the Navy Office by radiogram that, with the destroyers and the Nusa, he was making a systematic search of German New Guinea. Accordingly in the evening of December 14th the three destroyers (Warrego, Yarra, and Parramatta) together with the Nusa left Madang to examine the Sepik River, where they picked up the Siar and Witu. Cumberlege took with him troops from Major Martin's force to establish a small garrison at Angorum. Martin himself went in the Warrego, and Captain Simmons²⁷ of the Tropical Force was attached to that ship, as the destroyer flotilla carried no medical officer.

The expedition—which went up-river for 450 miles—has been described by Cumberlege in a report vividly phrased and full of picturesque incident. While this account deals largely with matters appertaining rather to the history of the Royal Australian Navy, 28 it may here be recorded that the whole flotilla moved up the winding course to the Marienberg Mission Station, of which Cumberlege writes-

"About thirty-five miles up, the banks are a few feet higher, and the ground less swampy, so that the sagos give place to stouter timbers, and the straight reach just short of Marienberg Mission Station (forty miles) is flanked on either side by magnificent virgin forest. Almost a solid curtain of creepers hangs shutting out a glimpse of the interior, festooned as they are from tree to tree. No natives live in this part near the river, but there are several villages some few miles back of this forest belt.

"Marienberg, the Mission Station, stands on a little hill, and the forest for half-a-mile in every direction has been, and is in the course of being cleared for planting."

The Lieut.-Col. W. F. Simmons, A.A.M.C. Commanded 1st Fld. Amb., A.I.F., 1918-19 Medical practitioner, of Sydney; b. Summer Hill, N.S.W., 9 May, 1888

**See Vol. IX, ch. v

He continues:

"Angorum, sixty miles, was the police post, built on a little hill, well laid out with gardens of bananas, sweet potatoes, tapioca, &c., cleared to the water and backed by grass country, cane brake, then forest. I landed the detachment of soldiers under Lieutenant Chambers,29 and also about 12 native police, who were at once sent out to scout the bush in search of Tafel, the official in charge of the district, who had bolted into the bush with some 30 odd native police, and had disregarded my written warning to surrender himself and party."

As the native police sent to scout for this official reported that they had been fired on, Cumberlege organised a chase in which Cumberlege and Engineer-Lieutenant McNeil, 80 together with Major Martin, Corporal Clarke, 31 and two other Australians of the Madang garrison and eleven native policemen took part. The detailed account of this interesting hunt, first across undulating country covered with grass chin-high, and then into cane and forest will be found in the naval volume of this history. Tafel was discovered, deserted by his natives, in a large recently-erected bush house. He surrendered, and was taken back to Angorum, Corporal Clarke and some natives being left to take charge of the house in the forest.

Leaving most of the soldiers, Cumberlege pushed on for several days up-river. At a fairly early stage, receiving a warning not to risk his destroyers, he transferred himself with Martin, Lieutenant Wilson,82 and a few natives to the Nusa in which he continued the voyage, sending the destroyers back to Angorum. It was known that farther up there was working an expedition under a German scientist, Thurnwald; but the missionaries at Marienberg had expressed grave anxiety as to its fate. As the Nusa, however, wound her way between the mountains there was sighted, moored to the bank, a white boat which proved to belong to the expedition. One German and thirty or forty natives were camped in a village that

²⁹ Capt. L. K. Chambers; 17th Bn., A.I.F. Of Mosman, N.S.W.; b. 26 June. 1894. Killed in action in France, 29 July, 1916.

²⁰ Engr. Rear-Admiral P. E. McNeil; R.A.N. Of Moonee Ponds, Vic.; b. Mel bourne. 25 Sept., 1883.

²¹ Clarke subsequently enlisted in the A.I.F. (Pte. J. B. Clarke. Painter; of Dawes Point, N.S.W.; b. Dundee, Scotland, 1881.)

²² Capt. A. G. B. Wilson, D.S.O., M.V.O., ps.c.; R.N. Of London; b. Manchester, Eng., 18 Nov, 1890.

they had built near by; but the leader was farther up-stream with a party in canoes. Cumberlege here turned down-river, taking with him the German. He left Major Martin and two police boys to await and bring back Thurnwald. This they did shortly afterwards, using the motor boats which had accompanied the expedition. Thurnwald was at first brought to Madang; but as he was exceedingly distressed at the interruption of his labours, which were of a valuable and purely scientific nature, he was eventually allowed to return to the German mission station at Marienberg.

The order—of which a fragment had reached Cumberlege—not to risk his destroyers in unsurveyed waters, was the outcome of a decision by the Naval Board that it was no longer necessary for the Navy to devote so much of its force and attention to New Guinea affairs. The Board did not propose to interfere in the operations actually in progress; but as soon as the search of the coasts was completed it was proposed to recall the destroyers, leaving the Fantome, Una, Nusa, and other small vessels for local requirements. From that time forward, in the Board's opinion, the Navy's chief interest in those waters would be in Rabaul, which afforded a possible naval base. It was also decided that the services of Commander Cumberlege could not, after the completion of the naval operations, be spared for the administrative work suggested by Pethebridge.

CHAPTER XI

TRANSFER OF THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATORSHIP

At noon on December 17th the Eastern, making from Madang under escort of the Una, steamed up Blanche Bay and dropped anchor off Rabaul. Immediately afterwards Colonel Pethebridge landed, and was received at the wharf by a guard of honour. The meeting between him and Holmes took place at administration headquarters, a trim white bungalow overlooking the sparkling waters of Simpson Harbour. For Holmes it was a moment of uncertainty. He was under the impression that Pethebridge was to supersede him as Administrator; for on November 25th he had received from Melbourne a wireless message framed in these terms:

"W7155. Colonel Pethebridge will administer as Commissioner the Pacific islands lately German north of the equator, your jurisdiction extending to all newly-acquired possessions south of the equator. What action do you propose as regards further service of troops after completion of six months' term of enlistment? Do you propose that portion should be retained and the remainder return to Sydney? . . ."

As received, however, the word "your" had been replaced by "formal." Holmes had previously understood that Pethebridge's sphere of action would be confined to the Pelew, Marianne, Marshall, and Caroline groups, where no garrisons had yet been posted, and that his own jurisdiction would still comprise Kaiser Wilhelm's Land (the mainland of German New Guinea), the Bismarck Archipelago, and the German Solomon Islands. The mutilated message seemed to imply that Pethebridge's jurisdiction was to extend to the whole of the German possessions, both north and south of the equator. With this doubt in his mind he had on the same day attempted to despatch to Melbourne a radiogram reading as follows:

"1100. As I have received no notification cancellation my appointment as Administrator, am doubtful of my position on arrival here of Colonel Pethebridge. Does he supersede me at once as Administrator of all late German possessions now under my jurisdiction, or am I to continue until six months' service has expired, then transfer to Pethebridge and return Australia for further service?"

His enquiry was, however, delayed in transmission by adverse atmospheric conditions, and was not received in Melbourne until the end of November. On December 1st a reply was sent to him, reading:

"Your telegram 1100 received yesterday. Assumed same despatched before receipt my telegram W7155, 24th November, which think makes position clear."

Owing to the mutilation of the telegram received on November 25th, this second message did not clarify the position. In the meantime, in a despatch dated November 28th, Holmes had written:

"Personally I would prefer to be permitted to return to Australia with the troops of my command at the expiration of their six months' period of service, as it seems to me that military work here, beyond merely garrison duty, is now at an end, and I should like an opportunity of returning to Australia to resume military work as early as possible with the hope of obtaining an appointment in connection with further contingents to be despatched to Europe."

Up to the actual time, therefore, of Pethebridge's arrival Holmes was uncertain of the position. Upon reaching Rabaul Pethebridge presented his commission for Holmes's inspection; the mistake in the wireless message of the 25th was discovered, and all doubts as to the respective limits of jurisdiction were set at rest. Holmes was to continue his administrative work in German New Guinea. Pethebridge, after arranging with him for the relief of a portion of the original force of occupation, was, as far as he himself then knew, to return to Australia.

The question, therefore, now before them was the relief of the garrisons in the centres south of the equator. As above related, the Chief of the General Staff in Melbourne had already, on November 24th, inquired of Holmes what action he proposed as to the further service of his force after its six months' term. Holmes was of opinion that most of his

men were tiring of the monotonous garrison duty, and were finding service in the tropics very trying. Not more than a tenth of them, he believed, would elect to re-engage for another term, especially as, if they did so, they would be required to serve for the whole of the war and four months after. He had accordingly telegraphed to this effect and had further reviewed the position in his despatch of November 28th, expressing the opinion that the garrisons at Rabaul and Herbertshöhe were out of all proportion to the requirements of the military situation, and that they were only being wasted there, so long as the Pacific was kept clear of enemy cruisers capable of landing any considerable body of troops. He had therefore come to the conclusion that, for the territory south of the equator, a half-battalion of infantry—with two machinegun sections and the necessary proportion of signallers and an army medical detachment—would be ample to meet all military requirements and to provide garrisons for Rabaul, Herbertshöhe, Madang, Käwieng in New Ireland, Kieta on Bougainville, and Lorengau on Manus Island in the Admiralty With regard to Nauru, there was no longer any necessity to retain two officers and fifty-three men there, and he suggested that the white employees of the Pacific Phosphate Company should be organised into a local defence corps, as had been done at Ocean Island.

Upon the receipt in Melbourne of Holmes's telegram the Chief of the General Staff had recommended that measures be taken accordingly for the provision of half a battalion—500 men—on the same lines as the Tropical Force, to serve for the duration of the war and four months afterwards. Colonel Legge also recommended that a legal adviser, an accountant, and several other administrative assistants should be sent. He assumed that 100 of Holmes's men would elect to stay on, and therefore suggested the enrolment of sufficient troops to bring Holmes's force up to that strength. With the Minister's approval steps were at once taken to enrol 375 officers and men—three companies and a machine-gun section—to concentrate in Sydney on January 1st.¹

¹ The orders were issued on Nov. 30 and Dec 1, and provided for the raising of a company in Victoria. a second in Q'land, and a third and a machine-gun section in N.S.W.

But between the date of Holmes's despatch and that of Pethebridge's arrival at Rabaul (December 17th)—that is to say, while these measures were being taken in Australia—the situation had been greatly simplified by the destruction of the German East Asiatic Squadron at the Falkland Islands. In discussion with Pethebridge, therefore, Holmes suggested that a total force of 350 would now be sufficient to maintain an effective military occupation; the greater part of this could now be provided by the use of Pethebridge's Tropical Force, 200 strong, to relieve portion of the original expeditionary force. It was further estimated that 50 of Holmes's force would re-engage. Thus only 100 would now have to be supplied from Australia.

Pethebridge, under arrangement with Holmes, forwarded this proposal by wireless on December 18th. He appears, however, to have covered his official telegram by a letter written to the Minister for Defence, in which he indicated his opinion that the additional 100 men, asked for "in deference to Colonel Holmes's opinion," were "more than ample." A white force merely tended to go down with fever.

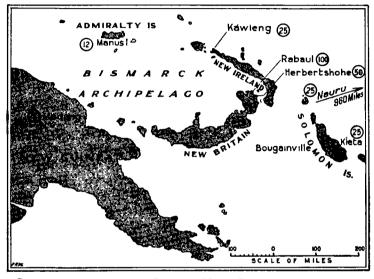
"The work now to be done, apart from the administration work, is merely police duty, and I think native police boys should be largely employed with just a few white men to look after them."

Pethebridge also telegraphed confidentially to the Minister criticising Holmes's administration—especially the employment of a mixed naval and military force.

"Although Holmes and his large staff are willing to remain if desired I think personnel of those in administrative positions could be considerably reduced and much economy effected. . . Presume that under altered conditions you do not desire me to remain but am quite ready to carry out any duty. Unless otherwise instructed will return by Eastern."

This telegram afforded another example of a hasty generalisation, arrived at without full appreciation of the conditions and not quite fair to Holmes. Pethebridge himself afterwards adopted, and continued throughout his term of command, a mixed naval and military establishment for administrative purposes.

The garrison, it was agreed, should be distributed as follows:—100 at Rabaul, 50 at Herbertshöhe, 50 at Madang and outposts, 25 each at New Ireland, Bougainville, and Nauru, and 12 at the Admiralty Islands. Accordingly, Holmes on December 20th despatched the *Meklong* to Kieta with the relief garrison for Bougainville, and on the 24th sent another



CAPTURED TERRITORY OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA, SHOWING THE DISPOSITION OF THE GARRISON AS DETERMINED BY COLONELS HOLMES AND PETHEBRIDGE, 18TH DECEMBER, 1914

to Madang. On the 21st Pethebridge left Rabaul in the Eastern with reliefs for the garrisons in New Ireland, Nauru, and the Admiralty Islands. His intention was to be back in Rabaul by the first week in January, when his future movements would depend upon any instructions received in the meantime from headquarters in Melbourne.

The wireless message which Pethebridge sent containing the amended demand of Holmes and himself for only 100 troops appears to have reached Melbourne, if at all, too late to affect the action of the authorities there. On December 22nd the whole matter was dealt with by the Minister on the advice of the naval and military authorities, who appear to have had

before them only Holmes's previous written despatch. It was decided that Pethebridge's troops (200), reinforced by the three companies and machine-gun section (375) and a few of Holmes's officers and men—that is to say, about 600 in all should be sufficient to occupy and administer the captured territory. The three new companies had by then been raised.2 and—as will be told later—275 were sent forward at the end of January and 65 at the beginning of February; but by the 20th of that month—possibly in consequence of the arrival of the belated messages—it had been decided that the remainder should not be sent. This incident, together with the previous misunderstandings connected with Pethebridge's arrival, appears to afford an illustration of the difficulty to which the administration of New Guinea was frequently subject through dependence upon a series of low-power wireless stations as the sole means of telegraphic communication.

In his official message of December 18th to the Defence Department setting forth the arrangements agreed upon between himself and Holmes, Pethebridge requested that, in order to enable the bulk of Holmes's force to return to Australia, a transport capable of carrying 1,000 men should be sent to Rabaul before the first week in February. Eastern was estimated to be able to carry on this comparatively short voyage 350 men, it was proposed that, immediately upon her return to Rabaul from the Admiralty Islands, she should take on board that number of Holmes's troops for return to Australia in charge of Colonel Watson. The remainder of Holmes's force, under the command of Colonel Paton, would return in the larger troopship, leaving Rabaul in time to reach Australia before the 18th of February, 1915, the date of expiration of the six months for which the expeditionary force had agreed to serve. The naval portion of the force would proceed to Australia in the troopship as a complete unit under Commander Lambton, with Lieutenant-Commander Bracegirdle second in command. As, however, naval officers and ratings would still be required, Holmes proposed that Bracegirdle should return to Rabaul to fill the position of King's Harbour-master, bringing with him thirty-one naval ratings for service in the Madang, Nusa, and motor-launches.

² On arrival in New Guinea these formed part of the "3rd Battalion" of the A N. & M E.F., although that designation was seldom used.

and for other naval duties incidental to the administration. It was also considered necessary that a number of master mariners, preferably with local knowledge, should be engaged in Australia and despatched to Rabaul. These would take charge of the captured merchant steamers, which were to be used for maintaining communication between the various administrative centres of the possessions. During Bracegirdle's absence in Australia, Lieutenant Gillam-whose services Holmes desired to retain—was to carry out the duties of King's Harbour-master.*

Having made these plans for the relief of the occupying force, Holmes's next step was to complete administrative arrangements for continuing his government of the Territory. Owing to his uncertainty as to the respective jurisdictions of himself and Pethebridge, he had, since being advised of the latter's appointment as Australian Commissioner for the Pacific, hesitated to take any important executive action likely to bind his successor. His first remark, after greeting Pethebridge on his arrival on December 17th, was: "I suppose vou have come to take over from me." When Pethebridge had disclaimed any such intention or authority. Holmes turned anew to his task as Administrator. His personal staff, consisting of Major Heritage (Military Secretary), Captain Travers (Intelligence Officer), and Lieutenant Holmes (Aidede-camp), was to stay on with him; the officers who held the more important administrative positions decided to do the same. Among these were the Judge (Captain C. E. Manning, who agreed at Holmes's special request to remain for three months, in order to carry on until a successor arrived), the Treasurer (Captain Fry), the Director of Works (Lieutenant Whittle⁵), the Commissioner for Native Affairs (Lieutenant G. O. Manning⁶), the Supply and Transport Officer (Lieutenant Heritage⁷), and the Government Printer and Interpreter (Lieutenant Lyng). Holmes also decided to retain the

^{*} Holines also proposed to keep Sub-Lieut. Buller

* Maj. C. E. Manning; 24th Bn., A.I.F. Barrister-at-law; of Hunter's Hill,
N.S.W.; b. Hunter's Hill, 24 Oct., 1879. Killed in action in France, 7 Aug., 1916.

Lieut. J. S. Whittle, R.A.N.R. *Capt. G. O. Manning. Plantation manager; of Papua; b. Hunter's Hill, N.S.W., 4 Nov., 1881. Accidentally killed at Myom, New Ireland, 18 June, 1915.

[†]Capt. K. Heritage, M.C., 19th Bn., A.I.F. Traffic Manager, Union S.S. Coy. of N Z.; of Launceston and Strahan, Tas.; b. Longford, Tas., 16 Sept., 1882. Killed in action in France, 26 July, 1916.



THE PERGENCE AT KOROPO (HERBERISHOUL) ON THE SPOT WHEN THE BRITISH FLAG WAS FIRST HOISTED IN GERMAN NEW GUINEA

From a painting by Charles Bryant, Est, in the Australian II at Urmond

To face # 18".

services of Major Martin as district officer for the mainland of German New Guinea, and of Captain Grant Thorold⁸ as district officer for New Ireland.

By this time the military administration which Holmes had been establishing upon the basis of the former German structure of civil government had taken definite shape. various departments were in working order; the officers and men who had been appointed to fill professional, technical, clerical, and other positions were becoming familiar with their novel surroundings; the commercial life of the country was gradually recovering its normal pulse. Rabaul itself was losing the appearance of an armed camp and regaining its former aspect as a prosperous trading-centre—the capital of a colony whose business was not war but the export of the products of tropical agriculture. The German merchants and planters had resumed the interrupted tenor of their vocations, and were not likely to cause serious embarrassment to the Daily it became more evident that military occupation. Holmes had acted wisely in permitting them to carry on their Trade conditions began to improve. ordinary business. Although the direct lines of communication between Rabaul and European markets had been cut, shipping facilities had been established between the Protectorate and the Common-Sydney offered an attractive and convenient mart. and planters had thus an inducement to open up commercial relations with Australian merchants. Inter-island connection in the Territory had also been restored, and once again the storage sheds of the German companies at Rabaul were filled to the roof with copra ready for shipment to Australia. Labour conditions on the plantations were rapidly becoming normal The unrest among indentured labourers had yielded to the renewal of routine and of regular supplies of food and tobacco; and the clearing and planting were being carried on as if there was no war. Among the large native population the confusion and distrust caused by the change of control from German to Australian hands were gradually dving away: the districts were visited by police patrols, which brought home the realisation that law and order were still being maintained;

⁸ Lieut.-Col. R S. Grant Thorold, D.S.O. Commanded 18th Bn., The Welch Regt, 1916 Of London; b. London, 9 Aug., 1868.

but the new masters were not interfering with established tribal customs, and a man would still be permitted to hunt and fish, cultivate his banana and taro patch, and lead his ordinary village life. In the unknown tracts of the interior, shut off from the government settlements by almost impenetrable jungle and mountain barriers, the momentous events that had occurred in administrative centres scarcely rippled the surface of native existence. On wide bungalow verandahs and in the tree-shaded streets of the towns, khaki or white uniforms were to be seen, and the sound of bugle-calls lingered on the hot, still air; but beyond this there was surprisingly little external evidence that a crisis in the history of the Protectorate had occurred, and that a new era had been ushered in.

Before his departure on December 21st to relieve the island garrisons. Pethebridge had communicated his itinerary and purpose to the Minister for Defence, and had intimated that on his return to Rabaul in the first week of January he would await instructions. In the meantime the Minister had received Holmes's despatch of November 28th, in which he had expressed the wish to be permitted to return to Australia with his troops at the end of their period of six months' service, with a view to his obtaining an appointment in connection with the A.I.F. That request rendered necessary a decision as to what was to be done in regard to New Guinea. Holmes's wishes were to be granted, another administrator must be appointed in his stead. Everything pointed to Pethebridge as the man. The original purpose of his appointment -to administer the former German possessions north of the equator—had been abrogated, and the force under his command had been utilised to provide relief garrisons for the centres hitherto occupied by Holmes's troops. Military work, other than the maintaining of an effective occupation by garrisons, was now at an end in New Guinea, and there was no necessity to retain there a military commander whose experience could be more usefully employed on active service elsewhere. The task which lay before any future administrator was that of carrying on the government and maintaining military authority over all occupied territory. For these duties the Commonwealth Government deemed Pethebridge to be well fitted. He was a public servant of tried ability.

familiar with departmental procedure and accustomed to the organisation and conduct of public affairs. The conditions of military government in New Guinea would, it was thought afford him the fullest scope for the exercise of his gifts as an administrator.

Colonel Legge therefore on December 20th submitted that Pethebridge be appointed and receive authority to retain the services of such of Colonel Holmes's force as were necessary for administrative purposes and willing to remain. The Minister approved, and added that Holmes was to be informed that his request to return was granted, and that Pethebridge should be asked if he was willing to act. On December 28th a wireless message containing this decision was despatched to Pethebridge from Melbourne. Delayed in transmission by atmospherics in the tropics, it was finally transmitted from Port Moresby on January 4th, after Pethebridge had again reached Rabaul on his return from Nauru.

Pethebridge had reached Nauru on December 27th. landed on the island next morning, and arranged for the relief of the garrison that had been left there on November 6th The new garrison consisted of 23 men under Lieutenants Ashburner⁹ and Willis, with Captain Mehaffey¹⁰ as medical Pethebridge also discussed the administration of the island with Workman, who by arrangement between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Commonwealth Government had been selected as civil administrator, the military control remaining in the hands of the Administrator During the stay of the Eastern at Nauru, Macdonald, with a working party from the radiotelegraph corps, endeavoured to restore the wireless station put out of action on September 9th by the Melbourne. therefore lay off Nauru until the afternoon of December 30th. the Eastern standing off and on under steam, since the depth of water was too great for her to anchor and the only two moorings put down for ships were occupied by the Southport

⁹ Lieut, H. P. W. Ashburner, Clerk; of Randwick, N.S.W., b Horsham, Sussex, Eng., 9 Dec., 1866. (He returned to Autralia in Dec., and later served with the 36th Aust. Heavy Art. Bde., in France, as a gunner.) He died on 19 Oct.,

¹⁰ Maj. J. M. Mehaffey; A A.M.C. Medical practitioner; of Burraga, N.S.W, b. Invercargill, N.Z., 5 Dec., 1886.

(in which Workman had arrived three days before Pethebridge) and by a Japanese steamer loading phosphates. By the 30th Macdonald, working incessantly, had succeeded in getting the low-power apparatus into working order, but found it impossible in the time available to restore the high-power set; and Pethebridge, anxious to adhere to his plans and rejoin Holmes at Rabaul, could not afford any further grace.

From Nauru a course was set for the Admiralty Islands, Pethebridge's intention being to relieve the garrison at Lorengau on Manus, and to bring back Holmes's men with him to Rabaul. On the evening of the 1st of January, 1915, when the Eastern was in 0° 56′ S. lat. and 156° 30′ E. long., she received a wireless message from Lieutenant FitzGerald¹¹ of H.M.A.S. Fantome, to the effect that an enemy vessel was supposed to be near the island of New Hanover (to the northwest of New Ireland) and that the Administrator desired Pethebridge to abandon the proposed visit to the Admiralty Islands and return direct to Rabaul round the southern end of New Ireland. The ship's course was thereupon altered to bring her farther south, clear of the rugged promontory of Cape St. George. On the following morning the Fantome was sighted, and the ships proceeded in company to Rabaul.

There, soon after his return, Pethebridge was handed the message from the Defence Department informing him of his appointment as Administrator. Although confirmation of the decision was not received until January 6th, the position seemed clear, and Holmes immediately arranged to relinquish his office and made preparations for returning to Australia. It was agreed that Pethebridge should assume office on January 8th; that on the following day Holmes should embark in the Eastern; and that in the same ship approximately 260 of his troops, under the command of Colonel Watson, should proceed to Australia for discharge.

It was not without regret that Holmes resigned the command of the Naval and Military Expeditionary Force. It is true that he was eagerly looking forward to active service in Europe, and had sought the opportunity for a command in connection with the A.I.F.; but he could not easily separate

¹¹ Lieut -Commr G P. M FitzGerald, R.N.; b. Kensington, London, 2 May, 1884.

himself from the work he had taken up. New Guinea had laid upon him the indefinable spell which none can escape who have lived under its clear azure skies, dwelt within sight of its far-folded mountain-ranges, or sailed along its alluring shores. In this country of rugged magnificence and primitive savagery, with its engrossing problems of government, he had found a great work to be done; and he was naturally reluctant to leave the completion of the task to others. In the four months of his administration he had accomplished much that was of enduring value and importance. The force under his command had captured the Territory and made history in the Although, in comparison with the operations in Gallipoli and France the fighting incidental to the seizure of the wireless station sinks into insignificance, vet, having regard to the strategic value of German New Guinea and the situation in the Pacific generally, the destruction of Bitapaka, the seizure of the mainland of German New Guinea, and the establishing of a base at Rabaul on New Britain for the Australian fleet were of no slight military importance. In view of the subsequent occupation of the Marshall, Marianne, Pelew, and Caroline Islands by Japan, the operations of the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force proved to be an incalculable service to the Commonwealth and the British Empire.

There was little analogy between the conditions in the European theatre of war and those in the Pacific. one hand were large formations of troops in conflict, on the other a tropical country thinly held by a body of white settlers Holmes's military operations could not be on any great scale. But in the capture of New Guinea he displayed the same qualities of organisation and leadership which afterwards signalised his commands in the A.I.F. If the military position in New Guinea had made greater demands upon him as a soldier, he would have been equal to the emergency. As events fell out, the actual clash of arms was brief but decisive. and settled for the whole of the war the military situation in the Territory. Thenceforward Holmes's work in New Guinea was constructive administration.

Here he was faced with problems new to an Australian commander. He found himself in the domain of international

law, full of legal technicalities in which he had no practical experience. Yet, in his conduct of the negotiations with the German Governor for the surrender of the Protectorate and the capitulation of the German forces, he showed a ready grasp of the principles of the laws and usages of war; and it is indicative of his character that, once having formed his decision as to the proper course, he had the firmness to adhere to it in the face of criticism from the Commonwealth It has been contended that with the military authorities. force at his command he could have imposed terms of surrender less lenient to the enemy; but it has been shown earlier in this volume12 that he acted in strict accordance with his instructions and with international law. One result of this adherence to legal principles was the establishment of the military occupation upon an unassailable basis. foundation it was possible to build an administrative structure into which the component parts fitted logically and effectively. and in which full advantage was taken of the organisation and experience of the former German Government. If he had rejected this method of administration, abrogated the existing laws of the country, and wholly discarded the German system of administration, he would have thrown the affairs of the Protectorate into inextricable confusion. He would have choked the flow of commerce, and cut off the sources of revenue. Not only would the material prosperity of the colony have suffered a set-back from which it would have been slow to recover, but the German merchants and planters, confronted with new conditions and new laws, would have remained discontented and hostile to the military occupation. unreceptive minds of the native population the sudden introduction of new ideas and methods would have brought farreaching distrust and unrest. As things were, the German colonists settled down under the routine of an administration which, in principle and form, apparently differed little from the government to which they had been accustomed; their normal life was much the same, and their interest in the economic and administrative affairs of the Territory was kept These factors all tended to bring about a passive alive.

acquiescence on the part of the German colonists in the fact of British military control. If the things that mattered in their daily life were not unduly disturbed, and their business interests not interrupted, they themselves could afford to let events take their course and await the final issue of the war. So, too, with the natives. The calling of German reservists to the colours in August, 1014, had taken away, both from the more closely populated areas and from districts remote from administrative centres, the immediate supervision of white men, and there had been some apprehension of native risings. But when Holmes permitted German settlers who had taken the oath of neutrality to return to their ordinary vocations, all danger of a native insurrection passed away. Freed from the menace, on the one hand, of discontented subjects and, on the other, of a native population out of control, he was able to concentrate his mind and energies upon the details of administration, the restoration of inter-island and oversea communications, and other measures urgently demanded by the economic situation.

Holmes was, from the first, seized of the cardinal importance of carrying on the administration of the Territory as distinguished from the bare duty of maintaining a force of occupation. Through his clear perception of the dual nature of his position he kept the internal affairs of the Territory moving along a definite channel. It is not here claimed that he established shipping communications and trade relations between the occupied Protectorate and the Commonwealth. That was the affair of the Federal Government, assisted by the enterprise of Australian merchants, who eagerly seized the opportunity of capturing a market from which, prior to the military occupation, they had for the most part been But Holmes, through his broad-minded conception excluded. of his functions as military occupant, maintained the colony as "a going concern," and thus made possible the flow of trade between the Territory and the Commonwealth, to their mutual benefit.

Side by side with this administrative activity he kept steadily before him the necessity of maintaining an effective occupation so that military authority could be exercised in any emergency. It seemed unlikely that the title of the invader would be again challenged by the German inhabitants of the Protectorate; yet vigilance had to be maintained against any attempt on their part to subvert the military administration. Always it was recognised that the real peril would come not from the land but from the sea—especially in the first few months of the occupation. German cruisers were then still at large in the Pacific, and might have made a dash upon New Guinea and covered a hostile landing. This prospect, and the presence in the Territory of 1,500 Australian troops, combined to render the strategic situation of prime importance during Holmes's administration. The dual rôle was not an easy one to fill, but he achieved success in both capacities.

CHAPTER XII

THE EARLY STAGES OF THE PETHEBRIDGE ADMINISTRATION

Holmes quitted New Guinea on the 9th of January, 1915. He embarked at Rabaul in the Eastern, accompanied by his personal staff with the exception of Heritage—who, it had been arranged, should continue to be Military Secretary under the new régime. He also took with him Watson, in command of the returning troops.¹ On Watson's departure the command of the troops in New Guinea devolved upon Paton. On the preceding day Pethebridge had formally taken over command of the expeditionary force and control of the administration.

It will be remembered that arrangements made between Holmes and Pethebridge contemplated the despatch from Australia to Rabaul of a troopship capable of transporting the greater part of Holmes's force. The Eastern took as many as her limited accommodation permitted, and after her departure the rest remained in the Territory pending the arrival of the larger vessel and the return of the Eastern, which was to be re-commissioned for a second voyage to and from New Guinea.

The relations between the original force and the newly-arrived Tropical unit were soon affected by a curious tension, which permeated all ranks and influenced Pethebridge himself in many of his subsequent actions. It was inevitable that Holmes's men should find it difficult to rid themselves of the notion that, the capture of the Territory being their achievement, it was their prerogative to carry out whatever still remained to be done. They regarded Pethebridge's men as—to some extent—interlopers, whose object in coming was to grasp the administrative fruits of their labours. Even those members of Holmes's force who were anxious to return to Australia, and who had no desire to retain appointments in the government departments, resented the prospect of being

¹ Numbering 260 of all ranks. A previous batch, of 34, had left on Jan. 5. Of those still remaining 53 returned to Australia on Jan. 14, and 726 on Feb. 10. Out of this total (1,073), 727 subsequently re-enlisted in the A.I.F. The Nauka carried also 313 members of the naval forces.

succeeded by men from the Tropical Force. Those who did wish to remain in office were apprehensive lest the new Administrator should give preference to men of his own. Side by side with these personal jealousies went the feeling of their habituation to the conditions under Holmes, and the unwelcome prospect of serving under another with whose personality and policy they were unacquainted. Members of the Tropical unit, on the other hand, adopted the view that the first force had had its day, and that it was now their turn to take the lead in New Guinea. They therefore chafed at the delay which must ensue before the remainder of Holmes's men could be embarked. Such was the position of affairs in Rabaul and Herbertshöhe, where the garrisons were in considerable strength; and the feeling between the two units ran surprisingly high, considering how slight a basis there was for any such sentiment. Among Holmes's men there was no feeling of ill-will to Pethebridge personally, nor was there at this time any suggestion of overt disloyalty to him or of indiscipline on the part of the troops. The phase soon passed; but it had the effect of implanting in Pethebridge the conviction that for the loyal conduct of affairs he would have to rely upon members of the Tropical Force, and of influencing his selection of administrative personnel not only at that juncture, but throughout his term of office as Administrator.

One of his first anxieties was to arrange for supplies for the troops and the natives in Government service. January 11th he asked the Defence Department by wireless when the troopship would leave Australia. Holmes's force, which was waiting relief, was provisioned only up to January While the Eastern was in Rabaul their rations had been supplemented with frozen meat, but there was now a The issues of sugar, flour, and jam had come to It was expected that the Burns Philp steamer Morinda, which arrived from Sydney about this time, would have brought supplies for the force; but she was herself short of provisions, so that none could be obtained even from her own stores. Nor could supplies be procured in the Territory. Rations were also required for 880 natives employed by the administration. The regular supply of provisions from Australia was a constantly-recurring problem during the military occupation, and when, as sometimes happened through strikes or other causes, communication by sea was entirely interrupted for a considerable period,² strange shifts had to be devised.

No immediate administrative changes were made. Since the date of Holmes's departure his successor had been busily engaged in picking up the threads of various administrative He was expecting reinforcements to bring the relief up to a total of approximately 600 troops, and, until they arrived, felt unable to do more than make tentative arrangements, having as yet no knowledge of the special capabilities of the officers. Of Holmes's force six officers holding important departmental appointments wished to stay on. Among these were Captain G. O. Manning, the officerin-charge of Native Affairs, who had previously had experience in Papua; Lieutenant Collins,3 the officer commanding the Native Police: Lieutenant Lyng, the Government Printer and Interpreter: and Lieutenant Gillam of the Royal Australian Naval Reserve, King's Harbour-master at Rabaul. were also Captain C. E. Manning, Judge of the Territory, who was prepared to remain until a successor could be selected in Australia, and Major Heritage, the Military Secretary—whom, in view of his reputation and technical training as an officer of the administrative and instructional staff, Pethebridge considered too valuable to be retained in New Guinea, as his qualifications could now be more usefully employed in connection with the A.I.F.

Taking advantage of the interval before his re-organisation could be completed, Pethebridge decided to visit the Admiralty Islands in order to relieve the garrison at Lorengau on Manus—a design which had before been frustrated by the deviation of the Eastern, during her voyage from Nauru to Rabaul, in consequence of the supposed presence of an enemy ship at New Hanover. Accordingly on January 17th he left Rabaul in the Una, reached Lorengau three days later, and landed the relief party. After inspecting the station he proceeded with the Una westward along the coast of Manus Island and made a complete circuit of the island, touching at Nares Harbour and Malai Bay, in order to establish friendly relations with the

² There were occasions when the Territory was isolated for over two months.

Lieut, H. C. Collins. Station overseer; b. Kensington, London, 1881.

native chiefs and explain to them that the island was now under British rule. It was also impressed upon them that the ship which they had often seen before as the Komet, flying the German flag, had been captured by the British and was now the British man-of-war Una. After thus "showing the flag" in the Admiralty group, he returned to Lorengau, took aboard the Una the former garrison of twelve men under Sub-Lieutenant Hext, and shaped a course for Rabaul, which was reached on January 27th. Holmes's original garrisons at the outposts had now all been relieved.

On February 9th the Navua, which had been chartered by the Commonwealth Government for the purpose of bringing the bulk of Holmes's force to Australia, arrived at Rabaul from New Zealand: and the embarkation of the troops was undertaken by Pethebridge with a promptitude characteristic of On the day of her arrival he appointed a board consisting of Colonel Paton, Commander Tackson of the Una, and Major Strangman (who had succeeded Major Maguire4 as Principal Medical Officer) to report whether the vessel possessed satisfactory messing and sleeping accommodation. stores and supplies, life-saving appliances, and hospital The report was arrangements for 950 officers and men. favourable, but with regard to life-saving appliances it was recommended that, as the Navua's boats could carry only 214 men and the Eastern's 358, these ships should proceed in The Eastern had returned to Rahaul on February 1st in accordance with the arrangements made for bringing up the remainder of the relief force, and was thus available as a second transport. She had brought two companies of infantry, a machine-gun section, and army medical details, making a total of 11 officers and 264 other ranks. On Strangman's suggestion it was decided that the Eastern should carry all the sick troops. It appeared that about 140 men from Rabaul, Herbertshöhe, Käwieng, Lorengau, and Kieta had been "down" with malaria and dysentery, and insufficient time had elapsed since the date of their infection or of their arrival in Rabaul to ensure their being completely cured. Although they were either much improved or convalescent.

⁴ Maj Gen F A. Maguire, CMG, DSO, VD ADMS, 3rd Aust. Div. 1018/20 DGMS Australia, 1941. Medical practitioner, of Sydney; b. Cobar, NSW, 28 Mar, 1888

Strangman thought that, if they were all crowded on the *Navua*, where the sick bay was limited to twenty-three beds. a proportion would die.

Pethebridge's arrangements had been facilitated by the arrival of the Eastern, and he was now in a position to decide what officers to select for the departmental posts which he desired to retain or create. While he proposed to confirm the appointments of those officers of Holmes's forces who were holding the most important administrative positions and who wished to stay on, he decided to release Heritage. This left him without a Military Secretary, and deprived him of the services of an experienced officer whose assistance had been invaluable in the early stages of the occupation and who would have constituted a link between the administrations. There was no substitute available of the same professional status and departmental experience.

The transports sailed from Rabaul on February 10th, carrying with them from New Guinea—with the exception of a few who, it had been arranged, should stay on—the remainder of Holmes's troops. They had done all that had been demanded of them, and theirs is the credit of having played the first and most "historic" part in the occupation of the German New Guinea possessions. As a fighting force, had there been any occasion for further hostilities, they would have been invaluable; but their high spirits and restless temperaments rendered them unsuitable for the monotony of garrison life and the smoothly-running routine of administration.

Pethebridge was frankly relieved to get them off his hands. The tension, which had persisted to the last, between this force and the Tropical unit became accentuated on the day on which the Navua and the Eastern were to sail. Feeling among the departing troops then rose to the highest pitch against Pethebridge himself, owing to the promulgation of an order that the baggage of officers and men embarking for Australia was liable to be searched before being received on board. For some time allegations had been made that property had been taken from official bungalows and private residences occupied as quarters by the troops. In particular the Administrator had heard a rumour that property belonging

either to the Government or to the civilian inhabitants of the Territory had been carried off by some of the troops who had embarked in the *Eastern* on January 9th. Prone to sudden anger, and endowed with a high sense of honour, he—though guilt had not actually been proved—was led by his indignation to express very strong views on the matter. In order to prevent a recurrence of what he believed to have happened on the occasion of the former departure of troops, he determined to take effective precautions. Accordingly he issued an order from which the following is an extract:—

- "I. The attention of all ranks Naval and Military Expeditionary Force is directed to paragraph 72, page 247, of Manual of Military Law, which reads as follows:
 - 72. Everything that is captured with prisoners and is not included under the term 'personal belongings' becomes the property of the belligerent Government, and not of the individuals or units capturing them.
- "2. All officers, petty officers, non-commissioned officers, and men embarking for Australia are therefore cautioned that before any baggage is received on board transports it will be liable to be searched by officers duly appointed for the purpose, to ensure that no Government or other property is being improperly removed from Rabaul.
- "3. A declaration in writing is to be submitted by each staff or other officer in charge of units to the officers appointed for the purpose, to the effect that they have personally examined the kit and baggage of every officer, petty officer, non-commissioned officer, and man under their command, and that no Government or other property is included therein that should not be removed from the place of embarkation."
- "When the order was issued," he wrote on February 19th in a report to the Minister for Defence, "I was threatened with a mutiny, some of the officers considering that their personal honour was impugned; better counsels however evidently prevailed, thanks largely to Colonel Paton."

Shortly after this episode the subject of "looting" at Rabaul received wide publicity in the Australian press, and questions relating to it were asked in the Commonwealth Parliament. This troublesome question had first arisen soon after the commencement of the military occupation. despatch dated the 13th of November, 1914, Holmes had reported that it had been found necessary to convene field general courts-martial for the trial of several non-commissioned officers and men, some charged with robbery with violence and others with stealing and receiving property. He stated that it appeared to be thought by many, who would scorn to commit theft in ordinary circumstances, that in war-time they had full licence to rob and loot. The resulting sentences ranged up to four years' penal servitude, though these were afterwards reviewed and mitigated by the Australian Holmes gave instructions that such offences would be severely dealt with, and caused the penalties to be published as a warning to the troops. It seems therefore clear that at this stage he took reasonable steps to stamp out such practices.

When, however, immediately after the sailing of the first returning batch, Pethebridge heard that Government and private property had been carried off by men and officers, he telegraphed to the Defence Department to this effect and suggested that all baggage and cargo should be inspected on arrival. A similar message was also sent by him after the sailing of the Eastern from Rabaul on February 10th on her second voyage, accompanied by the Navua, and after the departure of the Matunga on February 13th. Action appears to have been taken accordingly in Australia, resulting in the retention by the authorities of certain packages.

In these circumstances a court of enquiry was appointed in Australia, before which Holmes, Watson, Paton, Heritage, and more than fifty officers and other ranks of the expeditionary force gave evidence. The court, which found that there was no evidence of general looting, was followed by courts-martial for the trial of certain cases, most of which—including that of Colonel Paton—resulted in honourable acquittals. The general ground for such acquittals appears

to have been that there was no felonious intent, and that those who appropriated articles regarded them as souvenirs, and honestly believed that they had a right to them as mementoes of their participation in the campaign, and especially in such events as the capture of the Komet. The bad precedent of the Boxer campaign in China, whence many valuables were brought back, had undoubtedly set a standard which needed correction but had not been entirely corrected. And though in most cases the incidents amounted to little more than the appropriating of souvenirs—and in view of the extent of this practice in France a reference to it might appear almost unnecessary—yet the bringing back of property as souvenirs, especially by those in responsible positions, was undoubtedly overdone. The episode is of importance—first, inasmuch as it exemplifies perhaps the need for greater precautions against looting in the case of a comparatively bloodless expedition to occupy enemy country; secondly, because it led to considerable outcry and scandal at the time, and most regrettably spoilt the home-coming of the first expeditionary force to set out from Australia in the war. Holmes and his men felt that they had come back to an unfriendly atmosphere, instead of to the welcome and acclaim to which they rightly considered they were entitled. This was particularly unfortunate, seeing that they had achieved the purpose for which they were sent, not only successfully but in a manner which held high the British tradition for fair dealing.

By this time Pethebridge had almost completed his arrangements for carrying on the government of the country A brief survey of the administrative organisation at this stage will help to an understanding of the structure which, with some modification and extension, was maintained throughout the period of the military occupation. Administration Headquarters, in Rabaul itself, was the nerve-centre from which the other departments derived their functions. After Heritage's departure the duties of Military Secretary were in a measure carried out by Lieutenant Preston, staff officer to the Administrator, but he did not receive the actual designation

⁵ Capt. H. D. Preston Public servant; of Surrey Hills, Vic.; b. Northcote, Vic., 3 Apr., 1894.

and status until much later. By the 1st of March, 1915, appointments had been made or confirmed of officers holding the following administrative positions: Judge of the Territory, Officer-in-Charge of Native Affairs, Treasurer, Director of Supplies and Ordnance Services, Director of Works, Director of Lands, Surveys, and Roads, Government Printer, Chief Postmaster, and King's Harbour-master. In addition to the officers in charge, the Rabaul staffs of these departments absorbed 93 other ranks. There was also in Rabaul a detachment of the Australian Army Medical Corps, consisting of 3 medical officers, 12 other ranks, and 4 nurses. Battalion headquarters' staff was composed of 2 officers and 2 other ranks, and the Rabaul garrison comprised o officers and 233 men, apart from those employed in administrative duties. These latter, however, were still liable for training, and were available for military duties if required. At Herbertshöhe there was a garrison of 2 officers and 61 other ranks, and a medical detachment of I medical officer and 2 other ranks. At that station, as at each of the others, there was a district officer, who was responsible for the administration of the district as representative of the various departments. was also at such place the officer commanding the garrison, of which the strength (with the exception of that Herbertshöhe) varied from 23 to 10, according to the strategic and commercial importance of the outpost. larger centres the district officer had under him an assistant. and at each of the outstations, with the exception of Eitape and Morobe, there was a detachment of the medical corps. comprising at least one officer and an orderly. district officer at Käwieng had jurisdiction extending over the whole of New Ireland, and the district officer at Lorengau administered the whole of the Admiralty group and the Western Islands. At each administrative centre there was also a detachment of native police, in charge of a white non-commissioned officer, who was responsible to the district officer.

This distribution of the force meant that there were II officers and 97 other ranks employed wholly on administrative duties; 10 medical officers, 18 other ranks, and two nursing

sisters of the Army Medical Corps; 21 officers and 424 other ranks constituting the garrisons throughout the Territory. These, with battalion headquarters' staff, consisting of 2 officers and 2 other ranks, made up a total strength of 587.

The Third Battalion of the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force—that is to say, the Tropical Force which sailed with Pethebridge in the Eastern—was made up of four companies of fifty men each. Each of the companies which arrived later was of double that strength. With so great a variation in company-strength, organisation was somewhat difficult; Pethebridge therefore sought authority from head-quarters at Melbourne to organise the battalion as he thought fit. This request was granted on condition that the re-organisation would not require additional officers.

In the meantime arrangements had been made with the Department of Defence and the Naval Board for the construction of a battery on Matupi Island in Simpson Harbour

lt was decided to mount there four naval 4.7-inch guns⁶ on sites selected by Pethebridge and Cumberlege. Matupi, which comapproach mands the Rabaul. is low-lying a pumice-island, with loose sandy soil which afforded no stable foundation: the device was therefore adopted of embedding in the ground a wooden platform for each



gun. At the trial firing, however, this contrivance proved unsuccessful, since at each discharge the front of the platform lifted several inches, thus making accurate shooting impossible. The guns were therefore re-embedded, heavy trees with chains being placed on the platforms. Further trials were then made

 $^{^{}ullet}$ The work of transporting the guns from Rabaul to the island was assigned to Commander Jackson of the Una, and the mounting of them to Lieut. B. T. Goadby, R.A.E., assisted by Gunner T. J. Gribble and Boatswain P. Roache of the Una, under Jackson's supervision.

THE MATUPI BATTERY, SIMPSON HARBOUR

I ent by I adv Pethebudge

with satisfactory results. A magazine with a connecting trench was next constructed, and by March 11th the battery was ready for use.

In connection with the defence of the port of Rabaul it was arranged, after consultation with the commander of the Una, that a 3-pounder should be mounted on the forecastle of the Nusa, which was to carry out night patrol with two crews, serving on alternate nights; she was supplied with The district naval officers in Australia or the harbour-masters of ports from which vessels were likely to come to New Guinea were requested to warn shipping not to enter Simpson Harbour at night; the Naval Board was also notified of this warning for the information of British and Allied ships of war. The Nusa was directed to fire across the bows of any vessel attempting to enter at night, and, if the latter did not stop, to fire a rocket, at the same time running under the shelter of the shore away from the fire of the battery. Silhouettes of German armed ships thought to be in the Pacific were supplied to the battery and the look-out stations at Herbertshöhe and Ratavul tunnel (where the north-coast road gave access to Rabaul from Talili Bay). At these two posts a careful observation was maintained. The look-out station established by Holmes on Mount Mother -from which a view over a wide sweep of sea round the Gazelle Peninsula could be commanded, but which had been abandoned at the advent of the rainy season-was now re-established, and instructions were given to revive the former general signal of a large bonfire on Mount Mother for "enemy in sight." A 3-pounder and a 12-pounder on fieldmountings were subsequently added to the battery at Matupi.

Meanwhile the maintenance of communication with the scattered parts of the Territory was engaging the Administrator's attention. The distances between the outposts and Rabaul were comparatively great: between Rabaul and

Gun crews had, for several weeks previously, undergone instruction under Acting Warrant Officers G. G. Robert (of Williamstown, Vic.) and W. E. Coombes G. Penryn, Cornwall, Eng.) of the naval unit of the expeditionary force. Capt. G. E. Simcocks (of Charters Towns, Q'land) was temporarily placed in charge of the battery, and went through the same course of instruction as the men. Pethebridge, however, considered it desirable that a garrison gunnery subaltern acquainted with naval drill should be put in command of the fixed defences. The officer selected by the Defence Department for this purpose was Lieut. W. H. Anderson (of Melhourne), who took up duty at Matupi early in April, 1915. Anderson afterwards commanded No. 3 Squadron. Aust. Flying Corps.

Käwieng lay 170 miles of sea: from Rabaul to Madang the distance was 415 miles; from Rabaul to Lorengau 340; and from Rabaul to Kieta 270. The three government stations on the New Guinea coast were separated by long stretches of sea: the distance from Madang to Eitape in the north-west was 300 miles, and that from Madang to Morobe in the south-west near the Papuan boundary was 225. Moreover, within the administrative districts themselves the areas which had to be traversed by the district officer in the course of his patrols were extensive. The German Government had in some measure coped with these difficulties by attaching small vessels to certain districts. The Nusa had been stationed at Käwieng for the use of the district officer for New Ireland; her sistership, the Buka, now lying sunk near Kieta Harbour, had been used by the district officer at Kieta. The Admiralty Islands had been served by two motor-ketches, the Lorengau and the The Nusa was now being employed to carry out night-patrols at the entrance to Blanche Bay, and for harbour work by day between Rabaul and Herbertshöhe; she could not be spared for a district. The Lorengau, however, was sent to Kieta for patrol work, and the Carola to the Admiralty Islands for the same purpose. The only other vessels available for administrative purposes were the steamers which the German trading companies had used for inter-island communication in connection with their business. These ships had been captured in the early stage of the military occupation, and had proved very useful as tenders to the Australian fleet, for carrying troops, and for sending supplies to out-The most serviceable of these vessels was the Meklong, a cargo steamer with a carrying capacity of about 175 tons. Her hull was of iron, and she was capable of steaming seven knots in smooth water: if any sea was running, her speed became uncertain. Owned by the Norddeutscher-Lloyd, she had formerly been used for bringing rice down the Siamese river from which she took her name. Guinea she had been employed in collecting cargo from outlying islands for transhipment at Rabaul to the Norddeutscher-Lloyd steamers, which connected the colony with the East and with Europe. Since her capture she had, after various naval and military services, been put back into the cargo trade, and

Pethebridge proposed to use her for the despatch of supplies to the islands, and for the concentration of copra at Rabaul for transhipment to Sydney. With her shallow draught, her small consumption of coal, and her comparatively large carrying capacity, the Meklong proved a most serviceable vessel in the work of the administration. Another captured steamer was the Siar. She had formerly belonged to the New Guinea Company, and was named after an island in the harbour at Madang, where the company had had its headquarters when the settlement there was the capital of the Protectorate. The Siar could carry about 175 tons, and her normal speed was about seven knots, but her engines were so low-powered that against a strong wind she would make scarcely any headway. Since her seizure at the Gardner Islands in October, 1014, she had been employed like the Meklong, but Pethebridge now decided to use her, in charge of Lieutenant Willis, for patrol

work along the New Guinea coast between Morobe and Eitape; she was also to be used for bringing copra from outlying stations to Madang for shipment to Sydney.

There was, further, the Sumatra, which had belonged to the Nord-

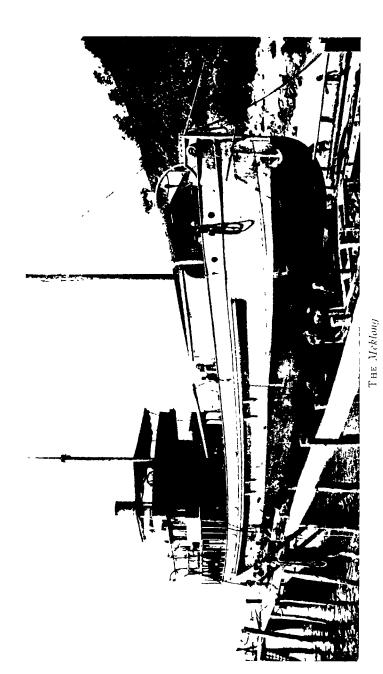


deutscher-Lloyd, and had been captured by the Australia off Blanche Bay on September 11th. She was larger than the other ships, being of 584 tons. On the departure of the Australian fleet her eccentric-straps had been removed, and she had been put out of commission. At one time she was used as a naval mess for the harbour-master and other officers. Since then she had lain idle alongside the wharf at Rabaul; but Pethebridge thought she could be profitably employed, and intended to have her overhauled by the engine-room staff of the Una.

There was yet another vessel, the *Madang*, which had been built at Hong Kong for the New Guinea Company four years before the war. She was a wooden ship of a carrying capacity

of 75 tons and a speed of seven knots. The Protector had stopped and captured her when carrying native troops, arms. and munitions from the Solomon Islands to Herbertshöhe. Holmes despatched her with a garrison for Kieta, but, when outside the heads of Blanche Bay, she was found to be leaking so badly that the troops had been transferred to the Meklong. Since then she had been employed in carrying passengers and stores between Rabaul and Herbertshöhe. With a view to sending her to New Ireland for patrol duty Pethebridge had her examined on the slip. It was then found that a number of sheets of muntz metal casing were missing, and that many of her planks had been wormed by the teredo. When the necessary repairs had been effected, she proved a very useful Her career was, however, a chequered one. Sometimes the reefs, sometimes the seas, dealt unkindly with her. and it subsequently became a standing (though somewhat exaggerated) joke that, whenever the Madang put to sea, she was sure to spring a leak, and, whenever she returned to Rabaul after a deep-sea voyage, she had to be docked for repairs.

Such was the "fleet" by means of which communication was maintained with the various parts of the Territory. the early stages of the occupation—until about the middle of 1915—these ships were often taken to sea by masters who could not, if called upon, have produced any documentary or other evidence of their having passed an examination in navigation, and their methods of bringing the vessel to her destination were sometimes uncertain both in theory and in practice. They put their trust in dead reckoning as registered by the log, and omitted to take into consideration the effects of currents and winds. But they volunteered their services with a cheerful and well-meaning desire to help to "carry on," and their passengers, from the Administrator downwards. stepped on board in the same spirit of light-heartedness. was all part of "the show." Sometimes the ships overran their mark, and had to work painfully and slowly back; sometimes they clean missed an island and had to find it; sometimes they discovered land where the chart showed open sea. Still. notwithstanding handicaps and difficulties, a shipping service



Photograph taken in 1917 at Port Moresby, Papua, whither she was sent to be docked

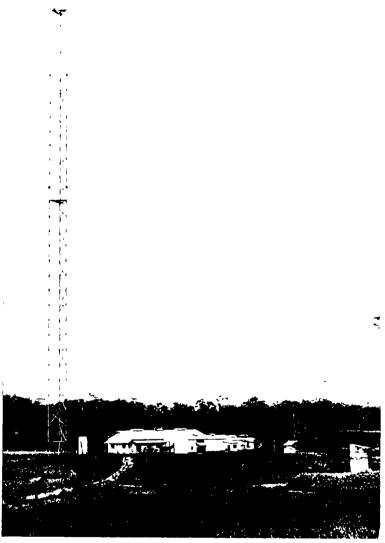
was maintained sufficient to keep the outstations supplied with their requirements and in fairly regular communication with Rabaul.

The days of unskilled navigators merged into a period when the ships were commanded by master mariners who could not only produce a certificate themselves, but could often point proudly to a first mate with an extra master's "ticket." Excellent work was done by these men in taking their ships in and out of narrow, current-swept entrances and along reef-sown and badly-charted coasts. Crazy as the vessels often were—and liable at any moment to develop "engine trouble"—and difficult as the navigation of New Guinea waters notoriously is, yet not one of them was lost. Mishaps and groundings they had; but they got back to port, even if not always under their own steam.

Remarkable interest was taken in the movements of these vessels by members of the occupying force. In Rabaul there was at least the excitement of the arrival about once a month of a steamer from Sydney, bringing letters from home and tidings of the war. Sometimes this steamer went on to Käwieng or Madang; but the other outstations were never touched at by the regular trading vessels from Australia. Where the steamer did not call, the troops had often to wait until their letters and newspapers could be sent on by the vessels belonging to the administration, and the interval of time between one voyage and the next was often a matter of weeks. At other times the mails were sent on by island Apart from the link with the Commonwealth constituted by the trading steamers and the occasional visit of a cruiser, the life led by the troops in each administrative centre was curiously self-contained. The Rabaul garrison knew very little about what happened at Lorengau or Kieta, Käwieng or Madang, and "mates" transferred to different stations easily lost touch with one another. The government vessels carried not only personal and official mails, but also intimate, unofficial gossip about the doings of the various garrisons. The arrival of the Sigr or Meklong or Sumatra or Madang at an outpost was a break in the routine; it meant not only news of the outside world, but new books to read. and—by no means less important to the majority of the troops. away from all entertainment except that which they could provide among themselves—replenishment of the supplies of tobacco and beer.

The establishment of wireless stations at various points in the Territory was also under consideration during the early part of 1915. Mention has already been made of the corps from the radiotelegraphy branch of the Postmaster-General's Department, despatched with Pethebridge in the Eastern, and of Macdonald's work at Nauru. In accordance with the proposals of J. Graeme Balsillie, the Commonwealth Engineer for Radiotelegraphy. Bitapaka was to be put into working order again as a low-power station, and then completed as one of high power. The masts, machinery, and other apparatus, brought there by the German wireless company before the war, had been seized as contraband, and could now be utilised by the administration. It was Macdonald's intention to take this work in hand immediately upon his return from Nauru. The small station erected near Government House at Rabaul had never given satisfactory results. Macdonald inspected it on his arrival at Rabaul and had at once condemned it, declaring that both its situation on high rocky ground, and the great absorption from the expanse of galvanised-iron roofing on Government House, militated against effective working. He therefore selected a site on low ground at the foot of Namanula hill, and it was proposed to remove the existing station from Government House to this position.

On the return of Macdonald from Nauru early in January, 1915, construction work at Bitapaka and the removal of the small station from Namanula to the site chosen in Rabaul were proceeded with. At the same time a wireless station was in course of construction at Woodlark Island in Papua. The question now arose whether, as it was uncertain whether German New Guinea would be retained at the end of the war, it would be advisable to transport the valuable machinery and gear from Bitapaka to Roebourne, in Western Australia, where the erection of a high-power station for purposes of defence was then contemplated. The proposal was favoured by the Postmaster-General's Department, but was opposed by l'ethebridge, who considered Bitapaka better than Woodlark Island as a strategic point in connection with the Pacific



THE BITAPAKA WIRELESS STATION

This photograph shows the station as completed by the Australian Military Administration. At the time of the occupation in September, 1914, the wireless mast was lying on the ground, not having been erected (see pp. 36-7).

Aust War Memorial Official Photo No. 13009 Taken in 1919

wireless scheme, Macdonald was emphatically in favour of the New Britain site, and Jackson, after an inspection of Woodlark station in February, 1915, agreed with Macdonald and reported to the Naval Board accordingly. Construction work was held up pending the settlement of the question. Macdonald estimated that three months would be needed to complete Bitapaka as a high-power station, if his staff (one foreman, two mechanics, two carpenters, three riggers, two ironworkers, and one supervisor for the natives) were maintained; if the staff were increased the time would be shorter. To dismantle and pack the gear and transport it to Rabaul for shipment out of the Territory would, he believed, take about the same time and the same staff, while additional labour would probably be required to handle some of the heavy machinery. The processes of construction and of dismantling would therefore involve approximately the same expenditure. Pethebridge also argued that Woodlark Island station could be completed as a high-power station whenever it was thought necessary. After negotiations extending over several months, Pethebridge succeeded in getting his views adopted, and construction at Bitapaka was then pushed on.

This episode illustrates Pethebridge's tenacity of purpose. Once convinced that a certain course of action or policy was in the best interests of the Territory or the Commonwealth—and he always maintained that the two interests were identical—he was not easily turned aside by official opposition, and generally succeeded in carrying his point. One explanation lay in the fact that, except in his first somewhat hasty criticisms of Holmes, he made a practice of very fully acquainting himself with the facts, and had the faculty of keeping them clearly and logically arranged in his mind. He could see at a glance and incisively criticise weaknesses in the other side's case.

During the early stages of constructive work at Bitapaka wireless communication with Australia was maintained by the small temporary station in Rabaul. On the whole it worked well. There were, it is true, many occasions when atmospherics due to climatic conditions, particularly during the rainy season, could not be combated by this low-power

apparatus; nevertheless a great stream of official business flowed to and from Australia through this indispensable station, and it bore the brunt of the administrative pressure of the first critical year, when the policy of government was in the making.

At Bitapaka itself many unexpected difficulties in construction were encountered, and the low-power apparatus was not in working order until towards the middle of 1916. The high-power station was completed by the end of that year. As finally constructed, it proved most efficient and reliable Owing mainly to the fact that portions of the material had been hidden or destroyed, the German plan, for a mast 150 feet high and four others of 250 feet, was abandoned. Instead, the 150-foot mast—which, on the day of the Australian landing at Kabakaul, had been cut down by the Germans—was re-erected, and from the material for the other four there was built up a second mast 318 feet in height.8 Apart from his own constructional ability, Macdonald was fortunate in having under him a man keenly devoted to the work-an engineer named Hardinge. Macdonald supplied the ideas and policy; Hardinge concentrated upon practical details. If the station stands to-day as evidence of good work carried on under adverse conditions, the chief credit belongs to these two men.

⁶ From the material left over, a mast and set of guys were in 1917 shipped to Townsville, and a station erected there; it was from this point on the Australian mainland that communication was maintained with Bitapaka.

Lieut. Telegraphist C. W. Hardinge; A.N. & M.E.F. (Wireless Section), 1915/19. Died, 16 March, 1930.

CHAPTER XIII

WORK OF THE AUSTRALIAN ARMY MEDICAL CORPS

In the medical sphere the commencement of the military occupation was auspicious. For the first few months after the arrival of the expeditionary force in New Guinea the general health of the troops continued to be extraordinarily Lieutenant-Colonel N. R. Howse, the Medical Officer, was therefore able to devote his abilities mainly to administrative work. Under his direction, control was assumed of the various hospitals, and for these, as far as he was able from the detachment of the Australian Army Medical Corps under his command, he provided staffs to take the place of the German personnel. He also set about ensuring effective sanitation of the towns in which garrisons had been posted—a matter of much difficulty, but of urgent and paramount importance in tropical settlements. factors proved of great assistance. The first was Holmes's decision to retain the services of certain of the German medical staff: the second, that Howse had a capable right-hand man in Captain F. A. Maguire. Five of the German government doctors were kept on-two at Rabaul, one at Herbertshöhe, one at Käwieng, and one at Madang. The services of two dispensers and three nurses were also continued at the remuneration which they had formerly received from the German Govern-To the German medical officers was allotted the duty of treating the cases in the native hospitals, where their special knowledge of tropical diseases could best be utilised. and Holmes has recorded that they carried out their duties to his satisfaction. This arrangement left the Australian medical officers free to attend to the needs of the troops and to take charge of the hospitals. It was a fortunate circumstance that there were in the Territory medical men with some knowledge of tropical diseases, since, as far as can be ascertained, no effort was made to take advantage of the organisation of the Tropical Institute at Townsville, or to obtain the services of an acknowledged expert in tropical medicine and hygiene.

Howse did not remain for long in New Guinea. He was desirous of obtaining an appointment in the A.I.F., and, after laying down the main principles of medical administration for the Territory, returned in October, 1914, to Australia. What he had done in New Guinea was well described in a despatch of Colonel Holmes dated the 4th of October, 1914:

"By the Berrima, leaving to-day, my P.M.O., Lieutenant-Colonel Howse, V.C., is returning to Australia and will be available for other work. He is too big a man for the work now to be done here, but the services rendered by him, in attending to the wounded, organising the hospitals on shore and also sanitation of the towns has been of great value, and, although I am sorry to part with him, his services can be used to greater advantage elsewhere in the Empire."

His place was filled by Maguire, who upon the departure of Howse, was the only British medical officer available for duty at Rabaul and Herbertshöhe. He personally attended to the sick of both garrisons, and supervised the work of the German doctors in the native hospital at each place, and the sanitation of the districts adjoining them. It was a heavy burden for one man; had the climatic conditions ordinarily prevailing at that time of the year set in with their attendant train of sickness, he must have been overwhelmed. But October and November passed, and still the change of season had not arrived; the rains did not come. With unbroken dry weather, there was no fear that the dreaded malaria might seize on the troops. The conditions were so favourable that on December 13th Maguire's daily report read as follows:—

"I have to report that the sanitary condition of the camps is satisfactory, the general health of the troops continues to be good, and the patients in hospital are making satisfactory progress. I desire to bring under your notice the fact that there are at present only eight patients in hospital, viz., two at Namanula, two at Rabaul, and four at Herbertshöhe; not one of these is seriously ill."

Up till the end of that year all went well. Then the abnormal spell of dry weather—one of the longest droughts



Back yow (left to radit) Private G S Millner, Private L H Lehman r Edwards, Sergeant W R Dovey, Corporal Photograph taken on board the Berrima, 1914 Contre rose Corporal C

Pockley, A. W. Ralston, Major R H Henderson, Lieutenant Front row: Captams F. A Maguire, B

E. Donaldson

Beardsmore, Captain J

Lent by Dr F. Antill Pockley

known in the history of the Territory—came to an end. The north-west monsoon plunged upon the land, bringing the rains, and with the setting in of the wet season the insidious tropical climate did its work.

In the brief interval between the Eastern's departure for Nauru from a rainless, healthy Rabaul and her return thither early in the new year the luck of Holmes's troops had changed. Two deaths from malaria had already occurred, about half the Rabaul garrison was suffering from malarial fever, and the hospitals were overcrowded. Maguire, valiantly endeavouring to cope with this outbreak, was in despair. had asked for medical assistance; with undisguised relief he heard that in the Eastern returning from Nauru was Major Strangman, who had some acquaintance with tropical medicine having visited London twice for a course of study under Sir Patrick Manson, and having served for many years as Government Medical Officer in the Northern Territory. position was serious and called for an expert in tropical diseases. Maguire went at once with Strangman to Colonel Holmes, pointed out the peril in which the garrison was placed by the outbreak of malaria, and suggested that he should immediately hand over the charge of medical matters to Strangman, who possessed the special qualifications which he himself could not claim. Holmes, recognising the emergency, said that he would agree to Maguire's suggestion if Colonel Pethebridge would allow Strangman to remain behind. was arranged that Strangman would stay on until he could organise "a system of tropical preventive medicine," and that he should relieve Maguire as Principal Medical Officer the latter being desirous of seeing further service in Europe. When, immediately after this step had been decided upon, Holmes's request to be permitted to return to Australia was granted, Pethebridge, on assuming the office of Administrator. requested Strangman to remain on with him, and confirmed his appointment as Principal Medical Officer.

Holmes left New Guinea on January 9th, and his former Principal Medical Officer went with him. For three months, from Howse's departure to the arrival of the Eastern, Maguire had carried on the medical administration single-handed. Strangman now faced an ugly menace, and the next

three months were anxious ones. During January about sixty per cent, of the troops stationed at Rabaul were found to be infected with fever (benign tertian, and quartan), mixed infections being the rule. The hospitals at Rabaul and Herbertshöhe filled rapidly. Thus among the Rabaul garrison for the week ending 23rd January, 1015, there were 238 outpatients, 36 men admitted to hospital, 45 discharged from it, and 46 remaining as in-patients. In addition to malaria, there were dysentery and pneumonia to be reckoned with. In malaria patients the benign infections reacted rapidly to treatment, but the quartan infections required three or four weeks' constant attention in hospital. Almost the whole garrison at Madang was infected, the malignant form (sub-tertian) being most in evidence and causing several deaths. During the same month benign and sub-tertian cases occurred among the troops at Käwieng in New Ireland and at Kieta in the Solomons. The Naval Force and the Naval Reserves escaped more lightly, not more than fifteen per cent. of their numbers being affected. In the treatment of malaria, quinine was administered daily for ten days and then three times weekly—the medicine being given in liquid form, followed by a ration of rum. In Strangman's opinion, the tablet and tabloid preparations of quinine were ineffective with Europeans not acclimatised to the tropics. This view he maintained throughout his service as Principal Medical Officer, in spite of conflicting professional opinion and the freely expressed and strongly phrased objections of the troops to the unpalatable solution forced upon them. To swallow a tasteless quinine tablet is easy, but to drink quinine dissolved in hydrochloric acid is to many a nauseating and almost impossible task, especially when, as in the first stages of malarial fever, the dose is given every four hours. But, if Strangman did not spare the feelings of his patients, he did not spare himself. During those anxious months, when the lives of the whole garrison were in his hands, he delegated nothing of moment, but personally saw each patient every day; when not thus occupied, he spent hour after hour examining blood-slides under the microscope. Despite much cause for misgiving, he had a cheery word for everyone, and

the troops, though they did not like his medicine, liked the man, with his brusque, kindly manner, and his trick of plain speaking. They recognised his solicitude for their welfare, and felt that he would pull them through.

With careful medical attention this outbreak was gradually got under control. Strangman took no chances. Not content with personal attention to the men in hospital, he waged war on the breeding-places of the species of mosquito whose bite is the cause of malarial infection. Hollows in the forks of the beautiful poinciana trees, with which many of the streets of Rabaul are planted, were found to be its commonest haunts, and these holes were filled with wet clay and subsequently with cement. The water in tanks attached to the bungalows used as administrative offices, as quarters for the troops, or as dwelling-houses by the residents of the town, was treated with kerosene and was examined under the microscope every fortnight; receptacles in which mosquitoes could breed were either destroyed or sterilised. The dysentery which had occurred among the troops was held to be due to their drinking unsterilised water from the house-tanks and eating fruit and vegetables which had not first been steeped in boiling water. Stern discipline in these matters was at once enforced, the details of which are given below. Thanks to these preventive measures, the daily number of malaria and dysentery cases admitted to the hospitals began gradually to decrease.

The next problem for the Administrator and the medical authorities was how to get the sick and convalescent men of Holmes's force safely to Australia. The more serious cases were put aboard the Eastern, which, as already stated in the preceding chapter, sailed from Rabaul in company with the Navua on February 10th. The medical officer in charge was Captain Byrne, who had been transferred to the expeditionary force from the Fleet while it was at Madang in September 1914, and who had been left at that place as medical officer to the first garrison. Byrne succeeded in getting the sick men in the Eastern to Sydney without losing a case Unfortunately, however, a number died soon after their arrival in Australia.

By the middle of February, 1915, the epidemic of malaria had considerably abated, the situation was well under control, and Strangman was able to turn his attention to general questions of medical administration in the Territory. October, 1914, Maguire had recommended to Holmes that four junior medical officers should be selected in Australia for service in New Guinea. In the following month he had recommended that this number should be increased to six, and that four nurses should also be sent. In consequence of this recommendation seven medical officers had come up in the Eastern with Strangman, who had during the voyage availed himself of the opportunity to give them daily instruction in tropical medicine. At Rabaul he had continued their training, and the outbreak of malaria soon after their arrival had given them practical experience of the treatment of this and other diseases. Strangman now proposed to utilise their services at the outstations. On the visit of the Eastern to Nauru in the preceding December Captain Mehaffey had been left at that island to look after the garrison. Of the others, Captain Whiting1 was sent to Käwieng, Captain Simmons to Madang, Captain Forde² to Kieta, and Captain Flood⁸ Captain Field-Martell and Captain Fitzto Herbertshöhe. Herbert* were stationed at Rabaul and Namanula respectively to assist the Principal Medical Officer. At Rabaul and Herbertshöhe the large native hospitals demanded much attention, and this work became part of the duties assigned to Field-Martell and Flood. At each of the other stations there was a native hospital, which came under the supervision of the district medical officer. Strangman had always emphasised the great principle that preventive measures must be carried out along with the remedial, and that it was useless to devote even the highest skill to hospital work if sanitation was neglected in the surrounding districts.*

¹ Maj. C. W. Whiting, M.C.; A.A.M.C. Medical practitioner; of Sydney; b. Randwick, N.S.W., 31 Dec., 1890.

² Maj. W. G. Forde; A.A.M.C. Medical practitioner; of Brisbane; b. Cloyne Co. Cork, Ireland, 7 March, 1882.

⁵ Lient, Col. J. W. Flood; A.A.M.C. Medical practitioner; of Brinkworth, S. Aust; b Yorketown, S. Aust., 3 Nov., 1883. Died 21 March 1929.

⁴ Lieut, Col. R. FitzHerbert, A.A.M.C. Medical practitioner; of Sydney; b. Launceston, Tas., 2 Jan., 1888.

⁶ Holmes in his third (and last) ordinance, which laid down certain medical regulations, had already recognised that the medical administration could not be confined to the troops. The ordinance applied to civilians also

all the outstations, therefore, no less than at Rabaul, large numbers of natives were set to work draining the swamps and low-lying lands, cutting out hollows in trees, and removing receptacles in which mosquitoes could breed. The government townships became models of cleanliness; it was seldom that tins and bottles were seen lying about; even the rank, quickly-growing tropical grass round the settlements was cut and kept short by gangs of natives.⁶

Side by side with the sanitation of the towns, a rigorous routine was followed with regard to the troops. parades were held every second day, and during the rainy season, especially on the New Guinea coast, sometimes every day. The importance of being protected by a mosquito-net while asleep at night was also impressed upon the men. The water-tanks attached to the residential bungalows constituted a double menace: here the mosquitoes deposited their eggs. and their larvæ found in the still, sun-warmed water a favourable environment: here also, it was then supposed, might exist the organisms causing a very dangerous, and often fatal. form of dysentery. In Rabaul itself the drinking-water from the tanks was found to be so fraught with peril that at one stage the drastic step was taken of disconnecting and emptying all the tanks and turning them upside down; meanwhile the water for all requirements was obtained from a condensing plant which had been erected near the wharf, and from which the ships drew their supplies, and the troops were forbidden to use water from the tanks. This stringent regulation could not, however, be enforced either where the residential bungalows were situated, as at Namanula, on steep hills or at the outstations, not one of which possessed a condensing plant. In these places the tanks were treated with kerosene every week to form on the top of the water a thin film which prevented the mosquito from laying its eggs there, or, if it had already done so, killed the larvæ when they attempted to rise to the surface. The water was then boiled before being used for drinking, the only drawback being a taste of kerosene.

⁶ They used a primitive kind of sickle, consisting of about two feet of hoop-iron fastened to a stick—an implement which they much preferred to a reaping-hook or scythe.

After the serious outbreak of malaria at the beginning of 1915 there were no recurrences on a large scale. The steps taken with regard to sanitation had greatly improved the conditions at Rabaul and at the outstations. But Madang. which had been notoriously unhealthy ever since the early days of the Protectorate, continued to be a source of anxiety. The New Guinea coast in that quarter is low and fringed with lagoons and swamps, and the rainfall during the northwest monsoon from November to April is very great—the average for twelve months being 150 inches, of which the greater portion falls within the "north-west" season. These factors all favour the prevalence of malaria, and during the early part of 1915 there were many cases and several deaths among the garrison, the fever often being of the malignant or sub-tertian form, which is always resistant to treatment and may prove fatal. A small garrison had also been posted at Angorum, sixty miles up the Sepik River; but malaria rendered that station untenable, and, after two men had died and the rest of the garrison had been badly infected, it was abandoned.

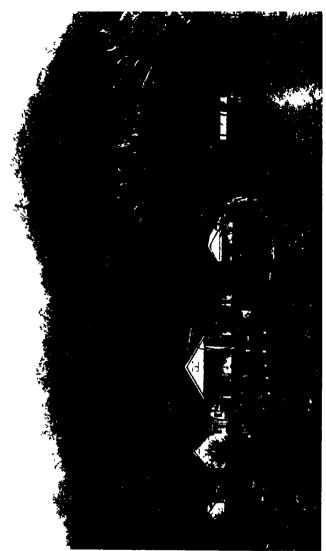
In May, 1915, an outbreak of amoebic dysentery occurred among the garrison at Rabaul, and was thought to be traced to the drinking water. Although the troops had been warned to drink only sterilised water, and had been ordered not to use tank-water for any purpose, total prevention Now, with amoebic dysentery spreading the garrison, it was considered necessary, as it had been previously in Rabaul, either to remove the tanks from the bungalows or to put them out of use in some other fashion. Distilled water was issued for all purposes. unfortunate circumstance of this outbreak was that in many cases the disease had reached an advanced stage before the men reported sick. The peculiar danger lay in the fact that the minute parasite caused liver abscess and perforated the walls of the intestines. In the early stage of the disease effective treatment could be given, but if the attack had been allowed to continue unchecked the conditions became very Emetine, it had been found, was a remarkably efficacious agent; it so happened, however, that up to that time this preparation had scarcely passed the experimental stage in respect of the tropical forms of dysentery, and there was only a small supply of it in the hospitals of the Territory. The small quantity available was rapidly used up, cases of amoebic dysentery continued to occur, and fresh supplies could not be obtained except from Australia. This meant the lapse of precious weeks, during which anything might happen. Supplies were urgently requisitioned by wireless, but the next ship leaving Sydney for New Guinea would not sail for a fortnight; there were nearly two thousand miles of sea to be traversed, and she was a slow vessel incapable of steaming more than nine knots. During the anxious days of waiting sick men began to die. Nothing could be done beyond giving them the best chance possible.

In Rabaul during 1915 the deaths from this particular disease among the naval and military torces numbered only six; and after this epidemic there were no more serious outbreaks of dysentery or malaria among the troops. At all centres the medical administration was then so well organised that the maintenance of the various garrisons at their normal strength ceased to offer difficulty. Though the military hospitals were seldom if ever empty, yet the number of cases did not exceed the proportion to be expected where men were living in a climate unsuited to a white race. Moreover, the conditions of service were such that garrisons were not confined wholly to the towns: there were always a number of men on patrol through the surrounding district, and these ran the risk of contracting malaria, dysentery, and other diseases in the rough bush-country so that the patrol parties often returned to swell the number of inmates of the garrison hospital.

Apart from the more serious tropical maladies which the troops were liable to contract, nearly every man suffered from skin-diseases at some time during his term of service in New Guinea. Ringworm was common and was with difficulty got rid of. Sycosis also occurred. But perhaps the most trying infection was the least serious of them all—prickly heat, caused by the continual perspiration unavoidable in that moist climate, which frequently took a form severe enough to make movements of the arms very painful and to interfere with rest and sleep. Dhobi itch was another painful malady, but

as a rule it did not recur after the first occasion. Coral cuts and infected wounds of the legs, feet, and hands were very slow to heal, and even the slightest cut or scratch, unless treated at once, was liable to become septic. It was, however, remarkable that elephantiasis, hook-worm, cus-cus, tropical ulcers and similar diseases, from which many of the natives suffered, were not communicated to the troops. Not one of these diseases was met with among the occupying force, although each could be seen in a severe form in almost every native village in any of the districts.

The prevalence of these diseases among the natives constituted one of the difficulties of the military administration. Each district had its native hospital, and a great part of the time of the medical officer was given to the treatment of native patients. These were generally indentured labourers, who, on becoming ill, had been sent into the government hospital by their employers. But the native who had not been recruited for service by a white man, and who dwelt by the sea or in the tropical jungle, did not go to the government He remained in his village. If he was sick, he either received treatment from the tribal medicine-man or else resigned himself to his condition and let the disease The prospect of dying in his own village run its course. among his own people was less to be dreaded than a sojourn in a government hospital, where a strange white man would practise strange rites and attempt cures unknown to the patient's tribe. He knew that some of his tribe or kindred who had been taken to native hospitals had died there; thus in his mind these institutions had acquired a sinister association, and he had a fixed belief that if he entered one of them as a sick man he, too, would die in it. This aversion to hospitals and to medical treatment constituted a problem which was never satisfactorily solved during the military Attempts were made, not without success. to occupation. deal with dysentery and venereal disease by means of medical inspections in each district. More or less efficient supervision could be exercised, in regard to these two diseases, over such natives as were employed in industrial pursuits or attached to the various religious missions. But, again, the difficulty



THE NATIVE HOSPITAL AT KIETA, BOUGAINVILLE

Taken by I J McMuhon, Esq.

lay in carrying out an adequate inspection of those who were living their own tribal life. It was not only that many areas were inaccessible, or so isolated as to be beyond the range of individual medical officers—there were also the customs and traditions of the natives to be reckoned with. matter of venereal disease it was impossible to persuade the village natives that a medical inspection of their women meant anything but a personal indignity. In these circumstances. the chief task of the military administration in relation to the natives being the pacification of the Territory and the extension of government influence in the maintenance of law and order, it was decided that conditions did not favour the institution of systematic medical inspections or the general inculcation of the principles of hygiene. Apart, therefore from the prompt introduction of precautionary measures of segregation and quarantine on the outbreak of epidemics, the main activities of the medical officers in relation to the natives were directed to such cases among the unindentured as came under notice during medical patrols, and to regular inspection and supervision of all the indentured. Side by side with this work went the study and treatment of tropical diseases in the native hospitals.

One fact that was never overlooked was that certain infectious or contagious diseases which are not regarded as very serious in civilised communities are, if introduced among native races, often virulent and decimating. white races have in the course of time acquired some degree of immunity in respect of diseases which have been long known in Europe, but the Pacific Island natives, to whom these diseases are new, have no such immunity. In many an island in the Pacific great loss of life has followed the visit of a ship with cases of influenza, measles, or scarlatina Precautions were taken to ensure that a among the crew. like fate did not befall the natives of New Guinea. Throughout the military occupation every ship arriving in the Territory from overseas was medically inspected before there was any contact with the shore; if special circumstances rendered the step advisable, further measures were adopted. For instance, during the epidemic of Spanish influenza in the Commonwealth during 1918 and 1919 all ships bound for the Territory from Australian ports were subjected, before being permitted to depart, to a period of quarantine on the Australian coast, and were again inspected on arrival in New Guinea. In this way was avoided a repetition of the tragedy of Samoa, where the arrival of a ship with influenza aboard caused the death of many thousands of natives.

Prompt measures averted a serious menace to the natives of New Britain in 1915. In December of that year the Te Anau arrived at Blanche Bay with reinforcements for the Tropical Force. During the voyage from Australia an outbreak of measles occurred among the troops. When the existence of this infection was confirmed by medical inspection on the arrival of the ship at Simpson Harbour, she was immediately ordered into quarantine at Matupi Island, and the troops8 were there quartered in a completely isolated camp Elaborate precautions were observed to prevent the natives on the island from coming into contact with the soldiers Visiting medical officers donned cloaks, which they left behind at the conclusion of their inspection, and also submitted themselves to fumigation before leaving. These steps were completely successful-not one case of measles occurred among the natives.

⁷This draft comprised six companies (of 54 in each) and was designated in one military order the "4 Bn." of the A.N. & M.E.F. It was not, however, separately employed but supplemented or took the place of troops then in New Guinea, many of whom were at this stage given home-leave to Australia.

⁸ The circumstances attending its arrival in the Territory conferred upon this body of reinforcements a somewhat unenviable notoriety, inasmuch as the *Te Anau* contingent promptly received from the rest of the force, and retained throughout the military occupation, the nickname of "The Measlies." The precautions were entirely justified notwithstanding the fact that measler had long before been imported into Papua

CHAPTER XIV

THE ADMINISTRATION OF NATIVE AFFAIRS

THE native tribes of German New Guinea belong to two races—the Papuan and the Melanesian. These differ from one another both physically and mentally; their languages The Papuan is the taller in stature, has also are distinct. black, woolly hair, and a dark chocolate skin. The Melanesian has curly or wavy hair, and his skin is lighter, often being of a copper colour. The Papuan, the true aborigine, more nearly approaches the Australian or Tasmanian black; inland and hill tribes in New Guinea are almost invariably Papuan The Melanesian is found in greater numbers in the coastal he is apparently the descendant of migratory ancestors, but occasionally shows distinct evidence of a mixture of races. In the Protectorate his chief habitat is the Bismarck Archipelago, but he has also made a home along the coast of the mainland. To him the sea calls more insistently than it does to the Papuan, and he is seldom found far from the sound of the combers breaking on the coral reefs.

Both Papuan and Melanesian were, and are, addicted to cannibalism, but the occasions when human flesh is eater. are by no means frequent with any one tribe. The practice appears to be connected with tribal customs and rites, following such events as a victory over traditional foes; at other times a tribe (or individual members of it) are incited by a sudden hunger for flesh as a reaction from their cus-Among some of the tomary diet of vegetables or fruit. Baining natives near Rabaul and certain tribes in Bougainville there is a caste distinction between freeman and slave, and the latter is often kept and fattened to furnish a cannibal Cannibalism is, however, a sporadic orgy rather than a regular custom. When subjected to government influence, natives of the Territory are easily induced to abandon the practice, and the suppression of inter-tribal fighting has greatly diminished the opportunities which the warriors formerly enjoyed of taking this last form of vengeance on their captives. The head-hunter, it is true, still exists, but he is not necessarily a cannibal. When once the complete

isolation of his village life is intruded upon, the Papuan or the Melanesian is found amenable to discipline, and becomes a mild-mannered and law-abiding subject.

When north-eastern New Guinea and the New Britain Archipelago fell under the sway of Germany in 1884, the native tribes were found to have a kind of local government administered by chiefs, called luluais or kukurais; this tribal chieftainship was usually hereditary, but was primarily based on election by the tribe. There was no family born to the A chief was customarily chosen on account of his wealth, calculated in shell money (tambu or diwarra). possession of much tambu represented to the native mind authority and influence. If the chief could retain that influence over his tribe by material means, he was left in undisturbed tenure of his position, and, on his death, his son, by inheriting or otherwise obtaining the father's wealth, generally succeeded in securing his own election. On the other hand there might at any time arise a stronger man, by whom the tribesmen might be induced to depose the existing chief and elect himself instead. The controlling factor was the homage of the tribe, by whatsoever means that homage could be won and held.

In the administration of tribal affairs the *luluai* or *kukurai* was assisted by *tul-tuls*, who were his executive officers and through whom such affairs were transacted. Questions of great importance were dealt with by a council composed of all the elderly men, and in its discussions the chief carried no more weight than any other member. Questions of minor importance were decided by the *luluai*. He had, for example, jurisdiction and authority to deal with marriage and divorce between members of the tribe, to settle conflicting claims as to inheritance, to apportion tribal lands to the younger men in order that they might plant food for themselves, to investigate alleged infractions of tribal laws and impose fines of shell-money as compensation to the injured party.

With the essential principles of this native administration the German Government did not interfere. It encouraged the natives to settle their tribal affairs among themselves, and continued to recognise the jurisdiction of the village councils and the chiefs in matters of tribal law and custom Nevertheless, as the natives came more and more under

NATIVE VILLAGE AT MANUS, ADMIRALTY ISLANDS I ent by Lieut-Col J J Cummins, AN & MEF.

government influence, their closer relations with the administration led to the introduction of certain measures of control, which to some extent modified the position in which the chief stood towards his tribe. The Government began to exercise a tutelary surveillance over the election of chiefs. luluai (or kukurai) was given a cap and stick as a badge of office; his name was recorded by the Department of Native Affairs, and the Government exercised the right of deposing him if it considered that his further tenure of the position was not in the best interests of the tribe or of the Government itself. Moreover, when a chief died, the final choice of his successor lav no longer with the tribe but with It often happened also that the latter the Government. selected a man who would not have been chosen by the tribe. the Government's nominee being generally a younger man than the one who would otherwise have secured the homage of the villages. Sometimes he was a former police-sergeant who knew "pidgin," and who was appointed more with a view to the practical purposes of administration than out of regard to the wishes of the natives. The circumstances of his appointment altered his status and lowered his prestige in the eyes of the tribe, inasmuch as, though he brought with him a more definite authority derived from his direct relationship with the central administration, he was looked upon as a servant of the Government rather than as the elect of the people. He was not admitted to the same intimate association with tribal affairs as the villagers' own appointee would have enjoyed. In the secrecies of the tribe he remained a little outside the pale, and never acquired in the council of elders the influence which his position would otherwise have conferred.

Nevertheless the right exercised by the Government to appoint or approve the selection of chiefs greatly strengthened its control over the natives, and established closer relations between itself and them. This influence was enhanced by the Government practice of selecting also the *tul-tuls* for each tribe. Here, too, the men appointed were generally either former police-boys or natives who had been for a considerable period in government service, or in that of a prominent settler or influential commercial company. They were thus equipped

with the necessary knowledge of language, of the white man's point of view, of discipline, and of the Government's attitude They were therefore able to interpret to the to the natives. chief and his people ordinances passed by the Government in regard to such matters as crimes and offences, village sanitation, and the maintenance of certain roads. the duty of the chief to make the orders and laws of the Government known to the tribe through the medium of the tul-tul and to see that they were duly obeyed. the chief was expected to report to the Government particulars of judgments passed by him upon violations of tribal customs and laws, and to bring under the notice of the authorities crimes committed in his village or district. The ultimate aim of the administration was to extend government influence throughout the Protectorate; but, at the date of the overthrow of the German administration, native customs and institutions had been brought under complete surveillance and control only in areas immediately surrounding the various centres of administration.

In this connection the German Government relied primarily upon the Bezirksamt (District Office) in each of the nine administrative districts. He was responsible for the maintenance of good order and government authority throughout his division, which was necessarily a large territory. the more important districts he had under him a deputy district officer, with a police master in charge of a unit of the Native Constabulary. In the whole Territory there was a native police force of approximately 1,000 men, distributed among the districts in detachments of about 100, a highlytrained force of about 250 natives being retained at Rabaul for service in any part of the Territory in case of a native uprising or the need of a punitive expedition. It was intended that this expeditionary force, commanded and trained by a regular officer of the German Army, should be composed of picked natives from all parts of the Protectorate.

In practice, however, although the district officers had strict orders to send the flower of the native police to Rabaul, they retained for their own districts the best type of recruit, and sent to Rabaul the less promising; so the expeditionary force was composed of recruits rejected for or weeded out

of the district detachments, and remained inferior in physique and morale to the native constabulary at the outstations. The district officers probably thought that they would have to cope at first hand with any native rising that occurred in their districts, and face the crisis before the expeditionary force could reach them with reinforcements; they theretore aimed at making their own force as efficient and self-contained as possible, even at the expense of what was intended to be the first line of defence for the Territory in the event of any rising of the native population.

From the establishment of native constabulary stationed at his headquarters each district officer formed the detachment of police which he took with him as a bodyguard when he went on patrol. But so great was the extent of the districts that patrolling had never been thoroughly performed. long distances from point to point were not the only difficulty: the real trouble consisted in the almost impenetrable tropical jungle, the unbridged, fast-running rivers, and the high mountain-barriers. If these obstacles could be overcome, there was the more insidious danger of native savages, hostile to the penetration of their fastnesses by the white man, knowing every track through the forest, lurking on the flank of the patrol party or heading it off from its objective, ora practice more formidable still-letting it pass and then hanging in its rear and taking toll at will. For these reasons the pacification of districts had been only partially effected. The ambit of government influence had been gradually enlarged in areas centred on the administrative base. this ambit legislation affecting native questions was enforced. head tax was collected, and effective control was exercised Outside it there was but a shadowy suzerainty, a vague ascendancy which existed only because the German Government had been able to impress itself upon the native as a potential agent of swift and terrible destruction. the coastal natives there were unfading memories of a gunboat raining shells upon their villages; among the inland tribes there were recollections of punitive expeditions bringing the devastating torch and the deadly Mauser.

Where government influence had been definitely established, the German methods of administration and control of the native populace were in themselves free from harshness. Especially was this true under the humane and beneficent rule of Governor Hahl. Like Solf, who established German authority on a firm basis in Samoa, Hahl was one of the type of administrators rarely produced by the German colonial system, but which the British seems able to evolve without difficulty. At heart Hahl was in sympathy with the principles of British colonial administration. He recognised that the true doctrine for the colonisation of a tropical possession is that the governing race is not there for the good of its own nationals but for the good of the people of the country. The continental policy of exploiting it for the benefit of the colonising power appeared to him vicious. He upheld the principle that natives have rights, which annexation should not destroy or ignore.

Hahl had come to New Guinea at thirty years of age as a Judge, and, by the time he succeeded to the office of Governor, had acquired an intimate knowledge of the natives His régime was characterised by a far-seeing solicitude for native interests, especially in regard to titles to land. early recognised that for a trifling consideration a native will sell his heritage without understanding that he is irrevocably depriving himself of all that he holds dear-the land upon which is built the village in which he was born, the hillside where he has made his plantations of yam and taro, the beach where he has drawn up his canoe. Hahl's hands were tied by the acts of his predecessors, and, later, were forced by the large companies with powerful influence at Berlin. could not always get his own way, and his official authority was sometimes undermined, but his endeavours to give the natives protection and fair treatment were liberal and con-He thus won their confidence in a remarkable degree, and brought home to them the advantages of being governed This fact, and the principles of native by the white man. administration which he had adopted and introduced, made the path of the Australian military administration easier than it might otherwise have been.

Under Hahl's governorship the pacification of the Territory made greater progress than during the combined terms of his predecessors; yet at the date of the outbreak of war only

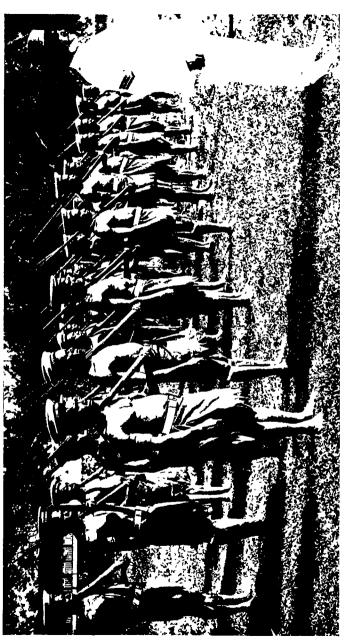
the fringe of the country had been touched. Even within fifty miles of Rabaul the rugged Baining country remained unknown and unpenetrated by the white man. Vague stories of cannibalism, slavery, and unmentionable rites among its mysterious ranges reached the settlers and the Government The physical aspect of such natives as were brought in from the nearer mountain slopes strengthened the probability of the sinister tales. With their enormous hands and feet, their thin legs, protruding bellies, projecting jaws, receding foreheads, and heavy sullen faces, they represented the traditional conception of primitive man. Except for the Baining country, the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain was fairly well known, but the rest of the island had never been traversed, and only a narrow belt round the coast had been thoroughly The same was true of the large islands of Bougainville in the Solomons and Manus in the Admiralty group, nor was much known of the interior of the southern half of New Ireland. As for the mainland of New Guinea. what lay beyond the coastal ranges could only be guessed. Several expeditions had worked along the Sepik, Ramu, and Markham Rivers, but their explorations had been confined to the country in the immediate vicinity of those great waterways. In the north-east of the mainland of German New Guinea hunters of birds of paradise, greatly daring, had pushed inland as far as the lower slopes of the high backbone of mountains. At various places, far away from the centres of administration, pioneers had taken up land in a remote bay or on a lonely island, and had carved a plantation out of the jungle, their lives at the mercy of natives who knew little of government control. In other places equally remote mission-houses had been established. These planters and missionaries were the men who did the pioneering work of They entered into relations with the natives pacification. and broke down the first barriers: the Government followed after, and consolidated their achievement. Thus in all the administrative districts there were: first-an intensive sphere in which government influence had been more or less completely established; second—outlying areas, some of which were visited from time to time by the district officer on patrol: and third—other areas which had never been traversed

by emissaries of the Government. Over stretches of two hundred miles of coast the only vestiges of the governing race were one or two isolated plantation-homesteads. In the vicinity of these the natives had become accustomed to contact with the white man, but beyond and between them lay regions unexplored.

Within the intensive sphere, then, the district officer was able to exercise definite authority over the tribes; the orders and laws of the Government could be effectively promulgated through the chiefs and their tul-tuls, and obedience could be enforced. Here the district officer could take cognisance, as a court of first instance, of offences committed by natives. It has been mentioned that certain infractions of tribal law or customs were dealt with by the village councils or the chiefs, and that notification of the punishment awarded was given to the Government. But in criminal cases the offender was tried by the district officer, who held court either at administrative headquarters or, during his patrols, in the locality where the alleged crime had been committed and where the evidence was immediately at hand.

Apart from his duties in policing his district and administering justice within the legal limits, the district officer had the general supervision of the recruiting of labour for the companies, traders, and planters. In the course of his patrols he inspected the labourers on each plantation, satisfied himself that they had been engaged in conformity with the regulations for native labour, and that due care was taken for their physical well-being. In this capacity he heard and dealt with any complaints made by the labourers against their employer. If he was not satisfied, he had the legal power to terminate the indenture.

Another task which fell to his lot was the collection of head tax. According to the German ordinance, head tax (varying in amount from two to ten shillings) was payable by each male native over the age of twelve years who, though in good health and physically able to work, was not serving under an indenture with the Government or other employer. The district officer held a discretionary power to decide in what parts of his district he should levy the tax, and to remit a portion of the amount in individual cases. The Government



NATIVE POLICE, RABAUL

recognised that the tax should not be levied on tribes which had not been brought definitely under administrative influence. and whose members had thus had little or no opportunity of becoming legally recruited for service. Even if this policy had not been adopted, the tax would have been uncollectable. not only for the sufficient reason that such natives would not have been amenable to coercion, but also for the equally good reason they had no money, their notions of wealth being limited to the traditional custom of barter in kind. The aim of the district officer was therefore to extend gradually the area within which head tax could be levied. When a tribe was for the first time made subject to the tax, the amount demanded was the minimum of the scale. This amount was increased each year until the maximum was reached, but whether the full amount should be exacted was a matter always left to the discretion of the district officer, with his special knowledge of local conditions.

Such, then, was the administration of native affairs at the commencement of the military occupation. Bound by the terms of capitulation to allow existing laws and customs to remain in force, the military administration adhered in the main to German lines of policy. Certain changes in details were introduced, and a different point of view was frequently adopted, in closer consonance with British principles; but no alteration was made in the system under which the district officer was the pivot of native administration.

In a tropical country, where white men are a mere handful in the midst of a coloured people, the administration of native affairs is the most intricate of all the problems of government. In New Guinea this question is perhaps more difficult than in any other part of the world, because of the primitiveness of both Papuans and Melanesians. Native tribes still in the Stone Age were suddenly confronted with Western civilisation. Nevertheless a generation of contact with Europeans has accomplished more than might have been anticipated. Tribes whose life was mainly given up to internecine fighting and head-hunting expeditions have, under government influence, settled down to a peaceful existence in their village communities; the cannibal has become a gardener, and the head-hunter a tax-payer: more surprising still, he has in

many instances entered the service of the white man and exchanged the freedom of his native way of life for the routine of manual labour, thus becoming an important factor in the industrial and economic life of the country.

The Territory is more thickly populated than any other part of the South Pacific. All the South Sea Islands are sparsely inhabited, and those formerly possessed by Germany are no exception; certain districts, however, contain a native population which is relatively numerous. Thus the island of Bougainville in the German Solomons is more densely inhabited than any in the British Solomons, with the possible exception of Malaita; and the New Guinea mainland of the Territory contains more natives than the mainland of Papua. It is always difficult to estimate with any certainty the native population of such countries. Various conjectures have been offered as to that of the Territory; some estimates have run as high as 500,000; but it is more generally thought that the true figure is somewhere between 350,000 and 400,000 (the population of Papua is between 200,000 and 300,000). Great stretches, like the valleys of the Sepik River, have not yet been traversed, and may either contain large tribes or, on the other hand, prove to be comparatively empty. Mandated Territory is thus somewhat more favoured in point of numbers, though it must be admitted that a population of approximately 400,000 is a very scanty one for a country containing 92,000 square miles.

It is in relation to the supply of native labour that this fact assumes significance. The industrial development of the Territory depends primarily upon the manual labour available, and, whatever may be the case elsewhere, it may be taken as demonstrated beyond doubt that the white races are incapable of enduring sustained physical exertion under the tropical sun of the South Sea Islands. The manual work necessary on any plantation must therefore be done by coloured races; and success in tropical agriculture can be achieved only when labour is plentiful and is paid for on a scale far below the standard of white men's wages. It is therefore obvious that without the native labourer, or an effective substitute for him, the economic resources of the South Sea Islands must remain undeveloped. Even at the



NATIVES UNDER ARREST ON A CHARGE OF CANNIBALISM, MADANG

Lent by Lady Pethobridge To face p 228

modest stage to which agriculture has attained in the Territory of New Guinea—where about 150,000 acres are in actual cultivation—difficulties occasionally arise in obtaining an adequate supply of labour for the plantations.¹

Before the outbreak of war the planters in German New Guinea do not seem to have experienced much difficulty in obtaining a satisfactory supply of labour. But in the first days of the military occupation, alarmed by rumours of the fighting and profiting by the enforced absence of the planters and overseers, large numbers of natives ran away from their Although the majority returned or were brought back, vet among both these and others in many districts of the Territory there was a feeling of unrest and The change from German to British control puzzled the native; he did not know whether it would last or what it might import. Moreover, the war began to affect him in other ways; foodstuffs to which he had grown accustomed (such as rice and tinned salmon) became scarcer through shipping and other difficulties, and the things he himself liked to buy at the trading stores became dearer and dearer, till the price got beyond his modest purchasing powers. All this encouraged a longing for his native village, where the conditions of life had not altered, and where he could remain until the strange world outside was again normal. escapee would on his return home become a dissuasive influence among the eligible young men in his tribal home.

It is also to be remembered that under the military administration the recruiting laws were more strictly interpreted and enforced, and that breaches or evasions of the regulations were more severely punished than during the German régime. Though this policy had the effect of suppressing numerous irregularities in connection with the recruiting of natives, it had also the inevitable effect of making that recruiting less easy. Nevertheless the supply of labour in German New Guinea continued on the whole to suffice for all reasonable demands made upon it. So far from decreasing because of the war, those demands steadily increased during the military occupation. The large German companies,

¹ As the area brought under cultivation is increased, the difficulty is enhanced and casts a shadow on what is otherwise a very bright prospect for these islands.

deprived of the power of remitting money to their head offices in Germany, applied all their spare capital and their accumulating profits to the planting of new areas. The same procedure was adopted by a number of the smaller companies and by individual planters. The additional labour required to cope with this development was drawn from considerable reserves that existed in large districts yet untouched, and the supply appeared to be assured for many years to come.

As in other parts of the Pacific, the Territory recognised two kinds of labour—the indentured and the free. Under the indenture system, which is by far the more common, the native enters into a contract of service with an employer for a definite term in accordance with the provisions of the Native Labour Ordinance, which is designed to afford him all possible protection from ill-treatment and the abuse of authority. His employer is obliged to maintain him in accordance with a prescribed scale of rations, and to provide proper housing accommodation and medical attention. A minimum wage is fixed, and the native must be returned to his home at the expiration of his term.

Free labour, on the other hand, is of a more temporary nature. The native arranges for as many days' work as he thinks fit. There is no definite obligation on either side, except that payment must be made for actual labour done. Free labour has been found very useful to supplement the indenture system, especially where a plantation is situated in a well-populated district. In such cases the natives often prefer what may be called day-labour. This leaves them free to return to their villages when they choose; and they will often offer themselves readily for labour of this kind, while unwilling to be bound for a term of years.

Although in many parts of the world the indenture system has been subjected to criticism, in New Guinea it was, at least during the war, obviously indispensable.² Meanwhile experience seemed to indicate that the native was beginning to realise an alteration in the conditions of his existence, and to regard with awakening interest the opportunities which the

² The New Guinea native is as yet too casual in temperament to set his hand to continuous work unless he becomes accustomed to the routine of a system which at the same time binds him by definite legal sanctions.

numerous activities of tropical agriculture offered for an escape from the narrowness of village life. Frequently a native will agree to be recruited for work because he is eager to experience the excitement of a voyage in a schooner which will take him into new scenes and into contact with other tribes.

The system of indentured labour had been firmly established by the German Government before the military occupation of 1014. Planters became aware of an increasing demand for copra in the commercial world, and special attention had been given to the cultivation of the coconut This activity in planting entailed a large increase in the employment of native labour, and the German Government brought into force legislation regulating such employment. Terms were made less stringent and were less strictly interpreted than in the case of the native ordinances of Papua and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate: in actual practice they offered greater facilities for the recruiting of These circumstances, combined with the fact of a greater population, accounted for labour being more plentiful and more easily obtained than-for instance-in the neighbouring Australian territory of Papua. The easier terms were an outward sign of the difference between the German and the British manner of regarding native races.

The Germans came to New Guinea in 1884 primarily for strategic reasons, and as part of the ambitious programme planned by Bismarck in pursuance of his conception of a German colonial empire. Once under the German flag, however, the Protectorate was linked up in the scheme of commercial activity upon which Germany had embarked in the Pacific, and which had begun with the remarkable rise of the firm of Godeffroy and Son, and culminated in the establishment of powerful trading corporations like the New Guinea Company. This phase of commercialism involved the development of the German possessions in the South Seas, a project which fitted in with the German selfregarding notion of colonisation. It followed that in New Guinea, since the development of the resources of the country was to come before all other considerations, the companies and planters would have few difficulties placed in the way of their securing the required amount of native labour.

Not only was such labour more easily obtained in German New Guinea than in British possessions; it was also less costly for the planter. He could often buy natives very cheaply through their chiefs, who, in return for a nominal sum of money or a present of coveted articles of "trade" (which, though valuable in the eyes of a native, were inexpensive for a white man), would order certain members of their own tribe to go away with the recruiter. In other cases the recruiter, ignoring the law, forcibly carried natives off. But as a general rule the planter, or his agent, could obtain native labourers by lawful means for a comparatively small outlay.

About 1914 the German Government was intending to repeal its native labour regulations and to enact amending legislation. The proposed regulations were available in draft form, and shortly after the commencement of the occupation—since the Administrator, in his powers of altering the existing regulations for native labour, was fettered by the terms of capitulation, and yet certain amendments were necessitated by the exigencies of the situation—it was decided to use as a basis the revised system which the German Governor had intended to bring into force. The draft was therefore used as the main ground-work, but numerous amendments were made, some forthwith and others from time to time as officials gained experience.

The most important alteration made was that relating to corporal chastisement of natives. It was the practice of the German administration to issue to approved employers of labour licences to inflict corporal punishment on their employees; the licence was revocable at the discretion of the Government if the licensee abused his power or incurred odium among the natives. Side by side with this system the administration claimed and exercised the right of inflicting what may be called official floggings on native labourers. Both these practices were altered under the Australian The first "Native Labour Regulations" administration. issued by the administration, brought into force on the 14th of July, 1915, contained a provision continuing the German system as to licences for corporal chastisement. But a month later, on the 14th of August, this provision was repealed and



NATIVES PICKING-OVER OPFIER AT MAIANATAR PLANTALION, NEAR KOKOPO, NEW BRITAIN LINE BY LICHT-TOL I I CHIMMIN 4 V & VEF

the power of inflicting such punishment was restricted to a Government official duly appointed in pursuance of a Judge's Order or the sentence of a Court. By a further amendment it was provided that such orders could issue in respect only of certain very serious criminal offences. Subsequent legislation went further and, in March, 1919, absolutely abolished corporal chastisement of natives in the Territory. This is the present state of the law.

Amelioration of the lot of the native employee was also effectively carried out in other directions. The laws as to recruiting were made stricter, and many malpractices in the way of kidnapping natives from their homes or compelling them to enter into contracts against their will were successfully checked by legislation framed in such a way as to make evasions difficult. The position of the military government was further strengthened by just and impartial administration of the law in the Central Court. It was made clear to the German colonists that, while every support would be given to recruiting in accordance with the native labour ordinance, infringements of the law would not be overlooked.

In connection with actual recruiting, improvements were also effected by such methods as stricter inspection and licensing of recruiting vessels; safeguards were established against the evils of over-crowding during the recruiting voyages; better provision was made for the adequate stocking of the vessels with medical supplies, and a more generous scale of rations was prescribed for natives while on board.

Attention was also given to the housing, food, clothing, medical attention, and general comfort and well-being of natives working on plantations or engaged in other forms of service.

It may justly be claimed that the change from German to Australian control has meant for the natives of New Guinea more personal liberty, better protection of tribal and communal property, as well as a higher regard on the part of the Government for the sanctity of human life. The natives have also been brought into closer relations with the administration and have been encouraged to continue such of their local customs as are compatible with the advancement of their civilisation.

CHAPTER XV

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

ARTICLE Nine of the terms of capitulation prescribed that during the military occupation the local laws and customs should remain in force so far as was consistent with the military situation. In its relation to financial questions this provision implied that, unless abnormal conditions arose, the German bank-notes and coinage in circulation in the Protectorate at the commencement of the military occupation would continue to be recognised as legal tender.

Upon the decision to recognise and retain such currency much depended. In the first place, it bridged what would otherwise have been a gap in administrative arrangements between the German régime and the British. terms of capitulation provided that all moneys and properties of the German Government were to be handed over to the officer commanding the occupying force; and, unless German currency were recognised, the adjustment of the Treasury accounts would have presented insuperable difficulties. In the second place, the financial relations between the Government and the colonists on the one hand, and the trading firms and the planters on the other, would have been thrown into inextricable confusion by a declaration at this stage that German currency would no longer be regarded as The Protectorate was isolated from the legal tender. European centres of finance, and in its trading relations could now look only to the Commonwealth. The outbreak of the war had already dislocated commercial arrangements; a sudden withdrawal of the money in circulation would wreck the tottering commercial structure, destroy the intricate system of credit, and completely paralyse trade. There was no bank in the Territory, and the large German companies had consequently developed a wide-reaching business of deposits and advances. To disturb these arrangements would have harassed every trader and planter, and almost every European and Asiatic inhabitant of the country. Moreover, the transactions of the large companies had the legal sanction of the German Commercial Code; if German laws and customs were to remain in force, this system of banking could not

be interfered with. Holmes realised the economic necessity for this course, and adhered to it, despite the fact that almost immediately the Commonwealth Government asked why the continuance of German bank-notes as legal tender was thought necessary—who was to be responsible for payment, and from what source was payment to be made? He replied that German bank-notes had not been declared legal tender, but that their circulation had been tacitly permitted; the papermoney taken over from the German Government, and most of the currency in possession of the merchants, were in the form of bank-notes; if these were declared not to be legal tender, business would be disorganised. He suggested that a banking expert should be sent to advise him on the subject. Holding strongly the view that matters should be left as they were, he decided to make no innovation unless expressly instructed by the Commonwealth Government.

One immediate advantage of this course was that the change of control in the Treasury was effected without confusion. Entries in the Treasury books were, of course, in the German language as well as in German currency. The Australian officials who took over the department had to contend with the difficulties of a foreign tongue, and their task would have been much more confusing had they been faced at the same time with the conversion of a foreign system of finance. While the newly-appointed officials were making themselves familiar with the details of financial transactions and accounts, the services of the German Treasurer were retained in an advisory capacity. In availing himself of this assistance Holmes acted wisely, for the affairs of the department required much and patient unravelling.

The officer appointed by Holmes in September, 1914, to take charge of the Treasury was Walter Fry, who had previously been lent by him to act as adjutant to the Kanowna contingent, and had done good work in that capacity. Fry was well versed in business accountancy, and set to work to put the Treasury on a satisfactory basis. Though hampered by his ignorance of German, he nevertheless succeeded in rendering invaluable service to the administration in the first stages of the military occupation under both Holmes and Pethebridge.

The total sum of money, in gold, silver, and notes, taken over from the German Government amounted to 346,066 marks 90 pfennigs. There were in addition accounts, to a total of 150,114 marks 25 pfennigs, owed by companies, firms, and planters, in respect of Customs duties up to the 30th of June, 1014, the practice of the German Government having been to allow to large trading corporations and approved traders and planters a Customs credit up to a limit mutually agreed upon. Thus the merchant or planter could carry on his ordinary business without being put to the trouble of paying Customs duties in cash in respect of each transaction, and settled his account quarterly or half-yearly. Where the financial stability of the merchant or planter was in doubt, security for the maximum of credit arranged was given by him in the form of a mortgage. On taking over the Treasury from the German officials, it was found that a large proportion of the amounts outstanding for Customs credits was secured by mortgages on plantation properties, and the various debtors were directed to come to Rabaul and arrange a settlement with The circumstances having been exceptional the Treasurer. owing to the interruption of trade, and the securities being quite sound, further time for payment was allowed in many instances: in others sanction was given to the reduction of the amount by instalments.

Apart from the amount represented by gold, silver, and notes surrendered to the military administration, and from the amounts of Customs credits, a further sum of 187,752 marks 25 pfennigs was shown in the Treasury books as a Government credit. This sum consisted of cheques drawn by the New Guinea Company in favour of the German Government (163,440 marks 50 pfennigs), drafts totalling 18,467 marks 45 pfennigs, and a bill of exchange for 5,844 marks 30 pfennigs. These cheques and drafts were believed to be, in fact, receipts for money distributed among the large companies by the Government of the Territory at the outbreak One cheque of the New Guinea Company for 120,000 marks was alleged by the drawer to represent payment for government stores, which, shortly before the transfer of the seat of government from Rabaul to Toma, had been handed over to the company. Investigations did not wholly satisty the military administration that this transaction was bona fide; further, it was considered extremely doubtful whether, in the circumstances, the cheques and drafts—which were drawn on banks in Berlin or Hamburg—could be negotiated by the new rulers. The position was further complicated by the cutting off of communication between these companies and Rabaul and their head offices in Germany.

The transaction above mentioned illustrates one of the financial problems which the new Treasury officials were called upon to solve. While dealing with novel questions of this kind, they had at the same time to make themselves fully acquainted with the normal working of their department. Not the least of their difficulties lay in their unfamiliarity with the German language. Only a few members of the occupying force possessed a working knowledge of German, and the others, in typical Australian style, declined to make any attempt to learn it. They took the view that, if the German residents wished to converse with members of the expeditionary force, English was the proper medium to be employed. This attitude led to less embarrassment than might be supposed, inasmuch as the Germans accepted it from the first, andthe majority of them having learned English at school—soon became proficient in the language. This happy circumstance did not, however, assist harassed Treasury officials to decipher cryptic entries on stained leaves of ledgers. Nevertheless by the 26th of December, 1914, Holmes was able to report that his officers had obtained all the information required to enable them to carry on, and that the services of the German Treasury official—though hitherto he could not have been done without had not been retained after December 12th, the date of expiry of the term for which he had been originally engaged.

Gradually, as the tide of administrative and commercial affairs commenced again to flow, the Treasury resumed the full exercise of its former functions. In addition, it began to absorb other activities. For instance, it took over certain classes of banking business hitherto transacted by the large trading companies, and established a savings-bank for the convenience of the troops. The circumstances of garrison life were such that there was seldom any necessity for the men to carry about with them more than a very small sum

of money. The need of a savings-bank was therefore very real, and the fullest use was made of it throughout the period of its existence. At first no interest accrued to deposits, the bank being regarded by the authorities as a convenience for the troops; but on the 13th of March, 1915, Pethebridge issued an administrative order enacting that interest at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum should be paid to members of the expeditionary force making deposits in the savingsbank at Rabaul. In this manner the savings-bank became firmly established on a good business footing, and through it the Treasury became more intimately, and, so to speak, in a more friendly way associated with the daily lives of the troops.

The delightful simplicity and directness of the Treasury methods during the early months of the occupation were too good to last. The system of those days was guileless and based on simple faith; it was adequate for the first needs of the administration in its transition stage, but would have been anathema to officials trained under the Commonwealth Audit Act. As the military administration grew more definite and complex, reorganisation of the Treasury took place under the supervision of officials schooled in the traditions of government departments and in formidable methods of accounting and complicated regulations.

The primal stage of the Treasury lasted throughout Holmes's term of office, and continued for the first ten months of the Pethebridge administration. That period was one of probation and of gaining experience in the novel problems of government incidental to a military occupation of enemy territory. While each department had to feel its way, the Treasury perhaps had to do so more cautiously than It was not, therefore, ripe for reconstruction upon a system comparable to that of the Treasury of the Commonwealth or of the respective States until the German financial system had been thoroughly comprehended and tested in actual practice. When this had been done, it was ready for the second stage. When Flolmes relinquished command in New Guinea, the Treasury was still in a transitional phase, and financial questions were dealt with as they arose. There was as yet no carefully defined policy covering the whole range of technical finance and carried out in co-ordination

with the Commonwealth Treasury. Thus, to take one instance, it has been mentioned that Holmes's retention of German currency had been questioned by the Federal authorities; it was again the subject of a query from Melbourne in February, 1915, shortly after Pethebridge became Administrator. The Governor of the Commonwealth Bank at the same time suggested that, if German coinage were retained at all, the exchange value of the mark in German New Guinea should be reduced from one shilling—the value approved by Holmes as being approximately the normal value of exchange for the mark and very convenient for commercial transactions involving English and German money—to sixpence, the latter being the rate of exchange proclaimed by the civil administrator of Nauru.

It was natural enough that authorities in Australia, regarding the question from an international point of view, should make suggestions based on the probability that events in Europe would affect international credits and influence exchange values throughout the world. But officials dealing with financial problems in the self-contained and isolated Protectorate of New Guinea had perforce to disregard the international aspect of the subject, and to look at it entirely from the local standpoint. Several factors had to be The legal effect of Article Nine of the terms considered. of capitulation could not be overlooked. Holmes had taken over from the former legitimate Government, in pursuance of those terms, German currency and coinage as Treasury funds, and had thus recognised the existing German papermoney and silver. During the four months of occupation German moneys had been paid into and out of the Treasury in the ordinary course of business. Moreover, among the German residents there was no other currency. It is not easy to arrive at an estimate of the amount of German money in the Territory. On the 10th of February, 1915, 319,241.66 marks had been sent by the Eastern to the Commonwealth Bank at Sydney for safe custody, pending a decision as to its ultimate disposal. There then remained in the Treasury at Rabaul German money of the following denominations—gold equivalent to £24 sterling; bank notes to £3,316; silver to £5,000. At the various Government outstations there was German money to an aggregate value of £3,000. In addition, it was estimated that the German money in circulation throughout the Protectorate amounted to £5,000.

Another very important point was that for many years the natives had accepted German money in good faith and had hoarded away considerable quantities of silver, which was generally buried under their huts in tins and secretly disinterred when the native capitalist had not the wherewithal to barter in kind. Often the treasure remained untouched for years, until, on some special occasion, he was induced to disturb his hoard instead of offering the produce of the country as a medium of exchange. Apart from the money long before issued by the New Guinea Company-well known on account of its beautiful representation of the kumul, or bird of paradise, on the reverse of the coins—the natives of the Protectorate were familiar with no coinage other than the Prior to the occupation very few English florins or shillings had been seen by them; since the beginning of the military administration, although they accepted English or Australian coins as equivalent to the mark, they called all such coins "marks," and would not have been able to understand the withdrawal of the mark from circulation. enough, they set inordinate store by their painfully-acquired collection of "white man's tambu," and repudiation would have staggered them. Their belief in the good faith of the dominant race would have been shaken, and the relations between European and native would have been seriously, and perhaps irretrievably, injured. The whole basis of those relations is one of trading. In German New Guinea the mark was the instrument of exchange. The term "money" was not used by the natives, except in one pidgin-English word "house-money," signifying the Treasury. On all occasions the word was "mark." Should a man ask a native the price of a pig or a canoe, he would, speaking in pidgin-English, say "How much mark?" In the eyes and minds of the native the mark stood for much more than a mere

¹ In these calculations the mark is taken as equivalent to a shilling.

² The one exception would be where the article was of such small value that it was customary to purchase it with tobacco or the like,

coin. It had for so long been the basis of exchange and barter that to the natives an alteration in its value was inconceivable.

Herein lay the danger of acceding to the suggestion of the Governor of the Commonwealth Bank that the exchange value of the mark should be reckoned at sixpence instead of one shilling. To have carried this proposal into immediate operation would have swept away in one act half the hoarded wealth of the native population. Further, the reason for the act would have always remained inexplicable to the native. who could not have looked beyond the act itself. The reduction in value would have been regarded as a distinct injustice on the part of the military administration, and would have made it, in the eyes of the aboriginals, an enemy instead of a friend to native interests. There would also have been put into the hands of the German residents an effective tool for undermining the confidence of the natives in British rule. The problem was thus not an easy one to solve. The Administrator pointed out the salient objections to the proposed withdrawal of the existing currency, and strongly recommended that the present practice should be allowed to continue, but that Australian notes and silver should be gradually introduced in the payment of Government accounts—in this way the new currency would become familiar to the natives, and their confidence in the faith of the Government would not be shaken. He also pointed out that the proposed reduction in the exchange value of the mark would paralyse business relations between the white residents. In view of these representations the Commonwealth authorities abandoned the notion of an immediate withdrawal of the German money circulating in the Territory.

Matters remained in this state until the following year (1916). The commercial companies continued to transact banking business (apart from the Government work carried out through the Treasury), to advance money to settlers, and to accept money on deposit. German currency circulated without restriction within the Territory. Meanwhile the war in Europe had developed to a scale and duration unforeseen at the beginning of 1915. The Commonwealth Government and the military administration had again been in negotiation concerning the question of German paper-money. In 1914

and in the early part of 1915 it had seemed easy to say that the Reichsbank in Berlin was as little like to repudiate its currency as was the Bank of England. But by 1916 only a very bold man would have predicted confidently what Germany would do in the matter of finance, or how her international credit would stand at the termination of the war. So far as New Guinea was concerned, it was arranged between the Commonwealth Government and the military administration that, in view of the change in the military situation in Europe, the German currency circulating in the Territory should be called in and withdrawn.

As a first step towards this, and with other objects which will be explained in a later chapter, it was decided that a branch of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia should be established in the occupied territory. On the 14th of April, 1916, Colonel Pethebridge issued a proclamation which is of both historic and legal interest.

PROCLAMATION

Establishing a Branch of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia.

WHEREAS owing to the exigencies of the British Military Occupation of the Colony of German New Guinea it is advisable that the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, as established by an Act of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, entitled the Commonwealth Bank Act 1911-14, shall commence and carry on the business of banking and do anything incidental thereto within the Colony of German New Guinea in British Military Occupation. NOW THEREFORE I SAMUEL AUGUSTUS PETHEBRIDGE, Colonel Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Administrator under the aforesaid British Military Occupation, DO HEREBY PROCLAIM AS FOLLOWS:—Notwithstanding any thing in the laws of the German Empire or any Colony



NATIVE VILLAGE IN THE KAWIENG DISTRICT OF NEW IRELAND

Lent by Lieut Col. J. L. Cummins, A.N. & M.L.F. for take f. 242.

or part thereof contained or implied that may purport to regulate or govern the establishment of a bank firm association or company for the carrying on of the business of banking or anything incidental thereto within the German Empire or any Colony or part thereof the Commonwealth Bank of Australia is hereby licensed authorised and empowered by me as such Administrator as aforesaid to commence and carry on the business of banking as prescribed in the Commonwealth Bank Act 1911-1914 both as regards ordinary Banking Business and Savings Bank Business in the Colony of German New Guinea as a branch of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia at Rabaul and such other place or places within the said Colony as may be hereafter determined by the competent authority or attorney of the said Bank and to have and transact any business relations with the Head Office of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia in Australia or with other offices of the said Bank in Australia or elsewhere AND I DO FURTHER PROCLAIM that for the purpose of establishing the said Commonwealth Bank of Australia in the said Colony and until such time as this Proclamation shall cease to have effect all laws ordinances proclamations and regulations heretofore in force within the said Colony of German New Guinea relating to banks and banking are owing to the exigencies of British Military Occupation suspended but in such manner as not to affect prejudice or invalidate any act or thing done or suffered or any right title obligation or liability acquired accrued or incurred in due performance of any such law ordinance proclamation or regulation prior to the issue of this Proclamation AND I DO FURTHER PROCLAIM that from and after the First Day of May One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixteen it shall not be lawful nor permitted for any person firm company bank or association whatsoever whether incorporated or not other than the said Commonwealth Bank of Australia to commence continue or carry on the business of banking in any manner or form within

the said Colony AND I DO FURTHER PROCLAIM that this Proclamation shall come into force forthwith.

Given under my hand and the Seal of the British Administration of the Colony of German New Guinea in British Military Occupation at Rabaul this Fourteenth Day of April One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixteen.

S. A. PETHEBRIDGE, Colonel,

Administrator under British Military Occupation of the Colony of German New Guinea.

(L.S.)

Witness—Seaforth Mackenzie, Major,
Deputy Judge-Advocate-General.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

It will be observed that the effect of this proclamation was to modify in part the provisions of Article Nine of the terms of capitulation relating to the maintenance of existing laws and customs. It suspended the operation, so far as German New Guinea was concerned, of German laws governing the establishment of banks and the carrying on of the business of banking. It deprived existing institutions in the Territory of the right to continue their business of banking, which had been sanctioned both by German law and by the custom of the country. Only the exigencies of the military occupation could justify such a departure from the terms of capitulation; but at the time at which the proclamation was drafted, the legal adviser to the Administrator was satisfied that the needs of the military administration, and the necessity for carrying on the government of the country for an indefinite period, conferred on the Administrator unquestionable legal authority to modify the provisions of Article Nine. It would appear that this view was correct. In only one other exigency were the provisions of Article Nine materially modified. Certain amendments and repeals were made in the Native Labour Regulations in order to afford fuller protection to natives, to cope with abuses of recruiting, and to meet other unforeseen circumstances which arose in the administration of native affairs.

This proclamation was the charter of the Commonwealth Bank. The new branch was opened on the following day the 15th of April. 1016—and the Bank thenceforth carried on its business in the Territory throughout the military occupa-From the beginning the experiment was a success, and so rapidly did the Bank identify itself with the country that it was difficult afterwards to imagine how the business of the Territory had been carried on without its assistance. To the administration and the members of the occupying force it rendered most valuable service. To it were transferred the savings-bank accounts of the troops hitherto conducted by the Treasury: current accounts of members of the expeditionary force were dealt with free of charge, and no exchange was charged on the transfer of money to Australia or elsewhere if such money represented naval or military pay. As soon as the Bank had completed its organisation the troops were paraded at its doors on pay days, and thus the business of receiving pay, lodging deposits, and transmitting money could all be done at one time.

It was not long before the Bank took an important place in the commercial life of the country. Its importance in assisting the Government to prevent leakages of money for enemy purposes will be explained later. The German merchants soon discovered the facilities which it offered for business transactions between New Guinea and Australia. beginning they had given it no welcome; they were afraid it would seriously encroach upon their own financial operations -and in this respect their fears were well-founded. It will be remembered that the proclamation establishing the Bank in New Guinea enacted that no other institution or corporation should be permitted to carry on banking in the colony. this provision been strictly enforced, the German companies would have been compelled to wind up their deposit business and to make no more advances to settlers. It was represented to the administration that this would gravely disorganise the financial arrangements between the large mercantile houses

and the planters; and after careful consideration of the whole position the administration decided that, while the ordinary commercial relations between the companies and their customers would not be interfered with, remittances beyond the limits of the Territory must be made through the Commonwealth Bank. Thus the threatened conflict of interests never assumed appreciable dimensions, and in time completely disappeared.

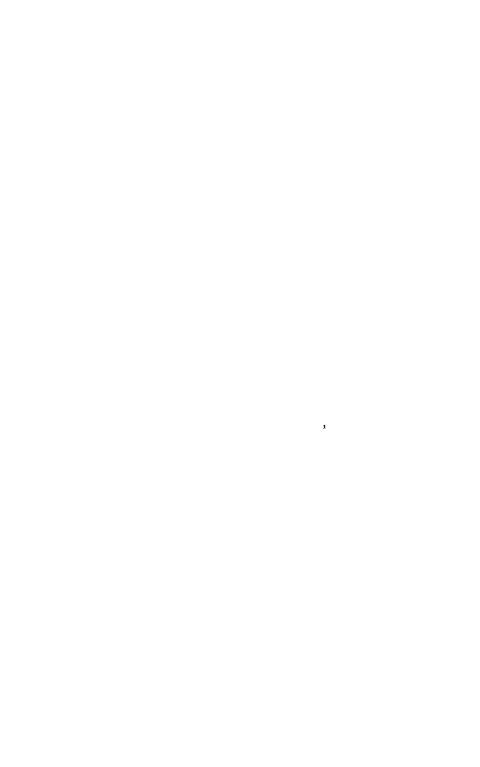
With the establishment of the Bank the problem of dealing with German money became greatly simplified, and this was the next matter to which the attention of the administration was directed. On the 11th of March, 1916, the Administrator ordained that "from and after the date thereof no person firm or company shall import or otherwise bring into the Colony any German bank-note or paper-money or other German currency or coinage of any denomination or description, and that from and after the thirtieth day of June, 1916, no person firm or company shall within the Colony make use of any bank-note or other paper-money issued by any German bank. . . . Until peace is declared between Great Britain and Germany and for so long thereafter as the provisions of this clause shall not have been duly abrogated the use within the Colony of German silver nickel and copper coinage shall be permitted and the said coinage shall have value at the rate of one German mark to one English or Australian shilling." It was provided that any person, firm, or company who had in his or its possession any German bank-note, or other German paper-money approved by the Administrator, could on or before the 30th of June, 1916, surrender it to the Treasurer at Rabaul or to any district officer, and should upon such surrender be entitled to receive in exchange Australian notes at the rate of exchange of twenty marks fifty pfennigs to one English pound sterling. Where such exchange could not be exactly made in Australian notes, the amount necessary to adjust and equalise it was to be paid by the Treasurer or district officer in silver, nickel, or copper coinage at the same rate of exchange.

By a second proclamation dated the 25th of April, 1916, that of March 11th was amended so as to provide that German



THE RABALL BRANCH OF THE COMMONWEALTH BANK OF AUSTRALIA (This building was formerly the Treasury)

Lent by Commonwealth Bank of Instinita Sydney Faken in 1916



silver, nickel, and copper coinage should have value at the rate of one German mark to elevenpence in English or Australian coinage.

These two proclamations were repealed by a third, dated the 28th of April, 1916, which, while consolidating and re-enacting previous clauses, provided that German papermoney also could be surrendered at the Commonwealth Bank up to the 30th of June. It further prescribed that, from the date of the proclamation, German bank-notes or other German paper-money or German silver, nickel, or copper coinage would only be accepted in the ordinary course of business or exchange at the value prescribed.

Another "Currency and Coinage Proclamation" was issued on May 8th. This provided that all debts incurred in marks should at the option of the debtor be paid either in silver marks or in Australian notes or English or Australian coinage: if the debt had been incurred before the date of the proclamation, the rate of exchange was to be twenty marks fifty pfennigs to one English pound sterling; if after that date, the rate was to be one German mark to elevenpence in English or Australian coinage. This provision applied also to debts due to or by the Government, with the exceptions that moneys due to the Government after the 8th of May, 1916, by way of fees, rates, duties, freights, dues, taxes, or otherwise (except moneys due under a contract or agreement with the Government) should be payable in shillings, and as if the accounts had been expressed in shillings instead of in marks; and that moneys due to the Government under a contract or agreement should, where such moneys were expressed in marks, be payable either in marks or in Australian notes or English or Australian coinage at the rate of elevenpence for each mark. It was provided, however, that natives of the Colony were to be allowed, at their option, to pay any moneys due to the Government either in silver marks or in Australian notes or English or Australian coinage.

These proclamations finally settled the problem, and gradually the innumerable questions which arose were all dealt with and adjusted. At a later stage the subject of German coinage was again considered, and in 1919 a Currency and Coinage Ordinance was passed prohibiting the use of

German coinage after the 31st of July, 1919, with the exception that natives could continue to use such coinage for a further period of twelve months. German coinage could be exchanged for Australian notes or English or Australian coinage at the rate of one mark for elevenpence. In February, 1920, an amending ordinance provided that all debts and other moneys due, if incurred or expressed in marks, should be regarded as if expressed in the same number of shillings Finally in December, 1920, a Currency and Coinage Ordinance repealed the previous ordinances relating to German money. and prohibited the use, after the 1st of January, 1921, of German currency or coinage, again making an exception in the case of natives, who were to be permitted to pay in silver marks or other German coinage fees, taxes, or other sums owing to the administration.

Among the natives the shilling-known by them at first as the "new fellow mark"—in time came to be as familiar as the German coin. In dealings with them, the shilling and the mark, being, so far as they themselves were concerned. of the same exchange value, were given and taken indiscriminately, and the distinction between the two systems of coinage lost its first sharp significance. At first there had undoubtedly been a prejudice against the new coinage, and a decided preference for the long-established mark. But daily contact with the occupying force began gradually to reconcile the natives to the new kind of money. It appeared to go as far as the mark in buying tobacco and lava-lavas, and the "whitemen soldiers" themselves seemed to think highly of it Neither did the missionary decline to accept it in the house lotu on Sunday. For these reasons the "new fellow mark" must be good. This growing confidence was strengthened by another circumstance. The King's head on the coins, owing to the trim of the beard and moustache, bore some resemblance to the head of the Administrator, Colonel Pethebridge—who as a former naval officer, had retained his close-trimmed beard on donning military uniform. Pethebridge was known and esteemed by the natives throughout the Territory as a just and kindly man, and the aboriginal mind readily grasped the concrete idea that the head on the British coinage represented the Administrator. The "big boss" being a good man, the

money he "threw away along all fellow" must also be "straight." Thus was the British administration cleared of the suspicion of uttering spurious coins.

The establishment of the Bank gave birth to a subtle verbal distinction, the expression of which might have been thought to be beyond the power of the crude vocabulary of "pidgin." The Treasury had always been known to the natives as the "house money." But when the Bank opened its doors to do business in Rabaul, the Treasury ceased to be the magic "house" whence the white men obtained their money, and the Bank assumed that character. To the native mind the Treasury lost all justification for its continued existence. All that happened there was the making of meaningless writings in big books, whereas from the Bank every day came many men bearing money, and once every moon the soldiers "made line" there and received much wealth. Nevertheless the white men in their foolishness continued to call the Treasury the "house money," and gave the same name to the Bank. If a boy were sent with a letter to the "house money," how should he know which place was in the thoughts of his master? Native sagacity was equal to the task of solving this problem. The Bank became known as "the house-money true" (where tangible wealth could be obtained), and the Treasury was referred to as "the house-money gammon"—a mere make-believe, a hollow sham.

The idea that marks could be exchanged for new shining shillings gradually penetrated the intelligence of the natives; and occasionally there might be seen in the streets of Rabaul a chief, solemnly attended by his tul-tul, and a retinue of his tribesmen, making his way to the Bank, the treasure about to be exchanged being borne in a rusty biscuit-tin which had obviously been dug up from some underground hiding-place. Sometimes the amount of money which had been thus hoarded was surprisingly large. One luluai, whose domain was on the shores of Blanche Bay, having made up his mind to throw tribal tradition to the winds and buy a horse and buggy, waited on the vendor with an array of tins containing the wherewithal to conclude the purchase.

Among the German settlers the calling in of German papermoney was at first viewed with some concern, and many of them were inclined to resent the measure as an implied impeachment of the integrity of the German banks. It is believed that some patriots declined to surrender the currency of the Fatherland for Australian notes, and hid it away in unprofitable idleness until the end of the war. Others took a common-sense business view of the situation. Later on, as Germany's financial position became more and more uncertain, the majority were profoundly thankful that they had obtained the easily negotiable Australian currency.³

Most of the currency in circulation in the Territory at the commencement of the military occupation consisted of notes of either the Reichsbank or the Deutsche Bank, but there were also notes issued by other German banks, not so well-known in Australia. Before German currency was called in, many of these notes came in the ordinary course of business into the hands of members of the occupying force, and were exchanged by them for purchased goods. The notes issued by well-known German banks were accepted by the troops without challenge, but for some reason or other suspicion fell upon a note, to the amount of 100 marks, issued by a bank in Bavaria. That Bavarian note became famous, It was stealthly passed on to unsuspecting persons, and then hastily got rid of by them. Many attempts were made to leave it permanently with one or other of the German companies, but it always found its way back to the troops. On innumerable occasions it was paid in to the Treasury or the Bank, often cunningly flanked by irreproachable notes in strong support. It was accepted without guile by these financial institutions, but it would speedily be again at large in the town. It was handed over in payment of a debt of honour; it was staked on a pak-a-pu bank in Chinatown, it was tendered to a shipping company as part of the consideration for a passage to Australia; but it turned up again with the regularity and persistency of a quinine-parade. There are many members of the Expeditionary Force who would like to know the ultimate destiny of that Bavarian note.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

THE obligation upon the military administrator to retain in force the local laws and customs, so far as was consistent with the military situation, involved two further implications: first, the Government departments continued to administer German laws and regulations relating to such matters as native affairs, taxation, and land legislation. Second, in the courts of justice German territorial law was still dispensed, and the practice and procedure were the same as obtained before the The practical observance of this covenant was surrounded by many difficulties, gave rise to many technical questions, and involved a branch of international law whichhowever exhaustively treated in text-books—had been little tested in the exigencies of actual experience under modern Enemy colonies had been held in military occupaconditions. tion by British forces during the Seven Years' War and the protracted struggle with Napoleon: but the polity and commercial circumstances of West Indian islands such as Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1769 (and again in 1810), and of East Indian islands such as Java and Sumatra in 1814, could hardly be taken as a guide for dealing with German New Guinea in 1914. The development of trade, and the greater complexity of modern legislation and present-day social conditions, have imported novel difficulties into the administration of enemy territory during war-time, and their solution had not before fallen to the lot of an Australian lawyer.

To maintain the legal status of a military occupation, while giving executive and administrative effect to the provisions of Article Nine, was one of the most perplexing problems with which the Administration had to cope. It was rendered all the more difficult by the fact that the services of the former German officials were retained for only a brief period after the capture of the territory. In view, therefore, of the innumerable difficulties which would inevitably be encountered, a particularly onerous task devolved upon the legal adviser to the administration. In the first place he had to make himself familiar with a system of foreign law set forth in a foreign

language. In the second place he had to exercise the functions of a German judge and administer German justice in the court. Furthermore it was his duty to advise the Administrator how problems of policy might be affected by considerations of international law, how far the German laws could be modified in an exigency, and to safeguard the legal interests of the administration in conformity with the laws and usages of war relating to military occupation of hostile territory.

The military administration of the Protectorate was, therefore, dominated by the requirements both of the territorial law of the colony, and of international law as involved by the express conditions and modifications agreed upon and

embodied in the terms of capitulation.

For a clear appreciation of the legal position, it is necessary to remember the distinction between annexation and military occupation. When territory is annexed, the sovereignty of the conquered government ceases to exist. In military occupation this sovereignty is not destroyed, but merely suspended; it is not transferred to the victor until the end of the war, when the territory is ceded in the treaty of peace. The obligations imposed upon the military occupant have been defined by international agreement in the Hague Regulations. The general scope of his duty is stated in Article XLIII in the following terms:—

"The authority of legal power having passed de facto into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all steps in his power to re-establish and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws of the country."

Westlake in his International Law comments thus on this article:—"Now that the distinction between conquest and military occupation is firmly drawn, the source of an invader's authority cannot be looked for in a transfer of that of the territorial sovereign. It is a new authority, based on the necessities of war and on the duty which the invader owes to the population of the occupied districts."

In New Guinea, therefore, the authority of the German Government remained in abeyance during the war, being

replaced by the authority of the military occupant; and this was defined by the Hague Regulations and also by the express provisions of the capitulation. But the Protectorate did not cease to be a German possession, although the Union Jack flew there as a symbol of the military authority of the British The inhabitants retained their German nationality and allegiance; but, in return for the recognition and protection of their laws and rights by the military occupant, they owed him the duty of obedience to the commands which he laid upon them for his own security in their midst and for the maintenance of his authority. Military law was binding upon them, giving the occupant the legal power to exercise his authority and to punish acts of disobedience or hostility. It was binding also upon the occupying power whose obligations it formulated and the scope of whose authority Beyond this ambit the occupant could not it prescribed. lawfully go, unless in pursuance of express and special powers conferred upon him by the terms of capitulation or unless the ordinary limits of his authority were, on occasion, abrogated by military necessity. The members of occupying force were subject to this international military law only as regarded their relation to the inhabitants of the country. In all matters relevant to order and discipline the troops were subject to the provisions of the Army Act, the King's Regulations, and the Commonwealth Defence Act and Regulations, and the territorial law did not apply to them. Being on active service in an occupied territory, they could not there lawfully acquire rights, or enter into contracts, of the kind contemplated by the civil law of the country; if they were charged with any crime or offence, they were tried by court-martial. The troops had thus no access to the courts of law, and these had no jurisdiction over the property or person of a member of the military force.

There were thus three distinct systems of law in operation in the Protectorate during the military occupation. International law governed the relations between the occupant and the inhabitants of the country; the territorial law governed the relations of the people among themselves, and military laws and regulations, of either British or Australian authority,

governed the conduct and discipline of the troops. Each of these branches came within the particular province of the legal adviser to the Administrator.

The administration of the territorial law involved the most difficult of the legal problems. Here the technical phraseology of the German language constituted a harassing obstacle, since in the early stages of the occupation no English translations were available. Moreover, German law, with its roots deep in the system of Roman jurisprudence, but tenacious of Teutonic customary law, differs in many important principles—and almost wholly in detail—from English law. An Australian lawyer, called upon as a judicial officer to administer German law in the courts of the Protectorate, was confronted with the task of making himself thoroughly familiar with a comprehensive and highly-developed legal system and procedure of which he had hitherto had at the most an academic knowledge.

The territorial law of German New Guinea included:

- (i) Laws of the German Empire (and of Prussia) applied to German possessions overseas by the Law of Protectorates (Schützgebietsgesetz). Among these legislative measures the most important were the Civil Code (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch), the Commercial Code (Handelsgesetzbuch), and the Criminal Code (Strafgesetzbuch);
- (ii) Laws and ordinances made by the Imperial Government for German possessions overseas;
- (iii) Laws and ordinances made by the Imperial Government expressly for the Protectorate of New Guinea;
- (iv) Laws made by the Governor of the Protectorate in the form of ordinances, orders, or proclamations.

Other ordinances had been made by the German Governor to validate native customs relating to such matters as shell-money, barter, hunting and fishing rights, marriage and divorce. Side by side with these must be included the tribal

institutions, customs, and usages of the aboriginal natives of the Territory, in so far as they were in general recognised by the German Government.

The German judicial system in New Guinea derived its authority and constitution from the provisions of the Imperial law establishing and defining consular legal jurisdiction (Konsulargerichtsbarkeit) and to the Schützgebietsgesetz (Protectorates' Law). The framework erected by these two laws provided for a fairly complete juridical By a grouping of the administrative districts (Besirke) the Protectorate was divided into three parts for judicial purposes, in each of which was established an Imperial District Court (Kaiserliches Bezirksgericht) presided over by a Kaiserlicher Bezirksrichter (Imperial District Judge). The Imperial District Court at Rabaul exercised jurisdiction over the Bismarck Archipelago and the German Solomons; the court at Madang had within its ambit the whole of the mainland of German New Guinea: the court at Yap in the Carolines had for its juridical province the islands north of the equator. The Imperial District Court had competent civil and criminal jurisdiction to deal with any matter arising under territorial law; it could try civil actions without any limitation of the amount of the claim, and criminal charges involving capital punishment. Its jurisdiction was thus approximately equivalent to that of the Supreme Court of an Australian State.

In each administrative district there was a magistrate's court, presided over by the district officer. This court had a jurisdiction limited on its civil side to hearing actions where the debt or claim did not exceed 300 marks, and on its criminal side to dealing with offences not punishable with death. If the fine imposed by the district officer exceeded 300 marks, or the period of imprisonment ordered by him exceeded six months, the amount or period in excess of that limit was not valid until it was confirmed by the Imperial District Judge. From the judgment or order of the district officer there was an appeal to the Imperial District Court.

The Protectorates' Law also prescribed that in each protectorate there should be a court of second instance—the Imperial Supreme Court (Kaiserliches Obergericht). To

this court, which had jurisdiction over the whole Protectorate (including the "Island Territory"), an appeal lay from the Bezirksgericht. Finally, in certain matters provision had been made for an appeal from the Obergericht to a Court of Revision at Hamburg in Germany.

Such, then, was the judicial system of New Guinea in 1914. It will be shown to what extent modifications were rendered necessary by the exigencies of the military situation.

The officer selected by Colonel Holmes as legal adviser and Judge of the District Court was Charles Edye Manning, a member of the New South Wales bar. In the first Gazette issued by the military administration—dated 15th October, 1914—Manning's appointment is described as that of Assistant Judge-Advocate-General. In the same Gazette a further appointment, dated 10th October, 1914, appears in the following terms:—

"Captain Charles Edye Manning, Assistant Judge-Advocate-General, is appointed as from the twelfth day of September, 1914, to act under the Military occupation of German New Guinea as Judge of the Colony, and to carry out all judicial and other duties ordinarily performed by the Besirksrichter and the Besirksgericht."

To Manning's lot fell the solution of the legal problems of the difficult first months. As Assistant Judge-Advocate-General he had to advise upon various questions concerned with the taking over of the government; as Judge of the Colony he had to administer German law in the District Court. His twofold task, by no means an easy one in any circumstances, was carried on under a double disadvantage. conditions were totally strange, and he had no other lawyer among the occupying force to assist him. He was, however, fortunate in one particular. Holmes had retained certain German civil officials in an advisory capacity, among them Herr Gustav Weber, the Bezirksrichter at Rabaul. From him Manning received invaluable help at the beginning, and was thus familiarised with the practice and procedure of the court while gaining a knowledge of German substantive law. But in December, Weber (in common with the other retained officials) resigned his position as a protest against the public flogging of the German settlers who were implicated in the assault on the missionary Cox. From that date Manning was practically deprived of the benefit of Weber's advice on judicial matters, and had to steer his own way through the intricacies of German law.

In place of the two District Courts—one at Rabaul and one at Madang—which had been constituted under the German Government, there was now only one District Court for the whole territory south of the equator. This inevitably led to a centralisation of judicial functions at Rabaul, although occasionally the Judge held sittings of the court in other administrative centres. As long, however, as the Judge was also the legal adviser of the Administrator, it was more convenient for him to sit at Rabaul, and in practice Manning and his successors were closely tied to the capital of the Protectorate.

In addition to his strictly judicial functions, as understood in British countries, the Judge in German New Guinea was the official Registrar-General, Registrar of Titles to Land, and Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages. to land, and all instruments affecting such titles, were entered and recorded in a Register of Titles, the entries being signed by the Judge and by the Clerk of the Court. Moreover, certain contracts for the sale of land and other commercial agreements had to be attested in the presence of and by the Judge. He was also the officer by whom, according to German law, marriages had to be solemnised. He had power to delegate certain of these functions, in special circumstances. to District Officers; but, as will be clear from the foregoing reference to his duties, administrative functions took up a considerable portion of his time, and brought him closely into In their domestic and business contact with the colonists. affairs he necessarily played a prominent part, thus gaining an intimate insight into their lives. He was continually called upon to deal with novel and unexpected problems. were no legal practitioners in the Territory. Through the abnormal circumstances of the war and the military occupation the routine of business affairs was sometimes interrupted. sometimes deranged; and all classes of the community—Australian merchant, German planter, Japanese pearler, Chinese trader, Malay overseer, and cosmopolitan beachcomber—found their way to the Judge to seek his advice. It was inevitable that, in his dual capacity as judicial officer and legal adviser, he should be called upon to interpret war-time legislation and the significance and effects of executive policy.

Hence arose the somewhat paradoxical situation that the Judge, whose position would ordinarily have kept him most secluded from such contact, was forced into closer personal relations with the settlers than was perhaps any other administrative official. It was a strange experience for an Australian lawyer. To maintain the proper poise, and to preserve a clear line between his relations with the European inhabitants of the Protectorate as Judge and his relations with them in his extra-judicial functions, called for the exercise of no common tact and discretion.

The first two ordinances issued by Holmes as Administrator relate to the administration of justice. The first, cited as "Ordinance No. I," appeared in the Gazette of the 15th of October, 1914. It provides that "If during the British military occupation of the Colony of German New Guinea, any offence be committed within the said Colony which, if committed by a person subject to the Army Act, would render such person liable to trial by court-martial, then, notwithstanding that the person accused of such offence may not be a person so subject to the Army Act, such accused person may, in any case where the Administrator of the Colony shall so direct, be triable by court-martial." It is not altogether clear why, in the face of the provisions of Article Nine and his appointment of Manning as Judge of the Bezirksgericht, Holmes considered it necessary to make this ordinance. was probably enacted as a deterrent from possible attempts at disobedience or hostility. The powers to be exercised under it were of course already within his competency; the express statement of them would therefore appear to have been minatory, since there was apparently no intention of immediately acting upon them when the ordinance was made, and they were in fact never exercised in this way.

The second, cited as "Ordinance No. 2," and gazetted on the same date as the first, prescribed that "until further notice the judgments of the Court will be final and there will be no



A BONKEN TEAM ON THE PLANTATION OF THE MISSION OF THE DIVINE WORD, POPL ALEXIS

Taken by H. H. Lucas, Esq. Aust. H av Memonal Collection No. 13101

appeal therefrom." Thus, curiously enough, by two concurrent legislative enactments the Administrator on the one hand declared his power to supersede or abrogate the legal authority of the courts of law, while on the other he surrendered, at least for the time being, his right to review the decisions of his subordinates.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that the only occasion on which Holmes attempted to ignore the authority and process of the law of the country, and to apply the autocratic powers of a military occupant to the punishment of an offence cognisable by the court, was that of the Cox affair.1 In dealing with this matter it must be admitted that, in a very difficult situation, he committed an error of judg-If he wished to bring the offenders to justice, there were two courses open: if he considered that a war crime had been committed, it would have been competent for him, as the officer commanding the occupying force, to have convened a court-martial and to have had the accused persons brought before that court. In the event of their being found guilty, punishment could then have been imposed in accordance with the finding and sentence of the court-martial. alternative course was for him to have treated the affair as an assault against Cox, and to have caused the accused to be charged with a criminal offence before the civil court. Now there would seem to be little doubt that this assault on an individual of civilian status, who was in no way connected with the occupying force or with the military administration, was not a "war crime" in the strict sense of that term: but. assuming that Holmes had formed the opinion that the affair was so interwoven with political or military motives as to fall within the interpretation of the term "war crime," he was still bound, in dealing with it, to apply and conform to the laws and usages of war. Paragraph 450 of Chapter XIV of the Manual of Military Law-the official text-book published for the British War Office-reads as follows:-

"All war crimes are liable to be punished by death, but a more lenient penalty may be pronounced. Corporal punishment is excluded and cruelty in any form must be avoided. The punishment should be deterrent, but great severity may defeat its own ends by driving the population to rebellion."

It will be seen, therefore, that corporal chastisement is recognised in the British Army as not being a lawful punishment for a war crime, and this prohibition of corporal punishment for war crimes is tantamount to excluding that manner of punishment for any offence less than a war crime, except of course in pursuance of the sentence of a court of law having competent authority to order the infliction of such punishment.

It is clear that Holmes was swayed by the view that the assault on Cox was a humiliating one and calculated to bring into contempt the British character. But it is arguable that the punishment for assault with violence was amply provided for in the criminal code then in force in the Territory, and that Holmes would have acted more wisely if he had merely caused the matter to be brought before the court in the ordinary way. Had he taken that step, the accused persons, if convicted after trial, would have incurred the stigma of imprisonment for a discreditable, unprovoked assault. adopting the other line of conduct Holmes probably strained his powers, certainly invested the affair with a political significance it should never have attained, embittered the relations between the occupying force and the inhabitants, and at a critical time—as must now be related—furnished the material for international propaganda.

The sequel can be shortly told. The incident almost immediately drew the attention of the Commonwealth Government. Before the arrival of Holmes's despatches narrating the events, the assault had already, on November 24th, been reported in the Australian papers. News of the punishment did not reach the press until December 14th. The matter was raised next day in the Commonwealth Parliament, Senator Millen and several others closely questioning the Minister for Defence, Senator Pearce, as to the legality of Holmes's action. Next day, the Minister, having looked into the despatches, and finding that the infliction of the whipping was not the result of judgment by a court, assured the House that he would issue an instruction that this form of punishment should not again be employed. In this instruction the Adjutant-General concurred. Although, he wrote, "there is ample evidence that the enemy powers have not considered

themselves legally bound by the laws and customs of war." yet, in his opinion, the Administrator representing Australia must strictly adhere to them. This was the attitude adopted by the Commonwealth Government from the outset of the affair, and maintained throughout. By a letter of December 18th Holmes was informed that the Minister wished "no such action taken in the future."

Meantime, however, through the press the incident had reached other ears. On December 16th the ex-governor of German New Guinea, Dr. Haber, made a formal inquiry as to the matter through the American Consul-General in Sydney. The Attorney-General, W. M. Hughes, could not recognise Haber's standing; but on January 21st a telegram from the British Secretary of State for the Colonies informed the Government that an inquiry had been made by the German Government through the Ambassador for the United States in London,² and asked whether a report had been forwarded. A short answer was cabled stating the circumstances and the need for strong measures, but adding that the Commonwealth Ministers did not approve of the Administrator's action and had given the instruction that in no circumstances should corporal punishment be again administered. telegram also incorrectly stated that the flogging was inflicted as the result of a trial by court-martial. The reason for this misstatement, which did not originate in the Department of Defence, is not clear. It was repeated by the British Government to that of the United States. not corrected until vear later. The German a vernment, being naturally determined to exploit to the full the value of the incident for propaganda, refused to accept the explanation, and presented the American Ambassador at Berlin's with a note verbale dated the 15th of July, 1915, submitting that although it "disapproved most strongly" of the offence, yet the offenders deserved "milder judgment." represented that "incredible as it may sound, a photographer . . . was admitted to witness the whipping." and pressed for, first, the trial of Colonel Holmes and his provostmarshal, and, second, the destruction of all photographs of an incident showing such an indignity inflicted upon German subjects. The Commonwealth authorities had already had cognisance of the fact that, in spite of the prohibition of cameras, photographs were in existence, one of them having been seized on a German, and another having reached a Brisbane newspaper office, which had referred it to the censor, who prevented publication. The Australian Government undertook an exhaustive search for any copies of the photograph which might have survived, but without success. It was, however, discovered that the author of the photograph complained of was an American fireman from a steamer which happened to be lying in port at Rabaul on the day of the incident, and that the negative had been bought from him at a very heavy price by the German consul at Sourabava, who communicated with the German Government and caused twenty-four prints of the photograph to be made—an action by which the sincerity of the German demand for its suppression may perhaps be judged. In Germany the Wolff Bureau made what capital it could out of the whole incident, and publicists demanded the trial of Holmes. Meanwhile there had been sent to England a fuller statement of the case based on an opinion from Pitt Cobbett, Emeritus Professor of Law in the University of Sydney, who contended that Holmes's action was justified, the offence having constituted an infraction of the proclamation of martial law previously issued by Holmes, and the punishment being—under the conditions existing at the time—a measure of military precaution.

The Commonwealth Government, therefore, refused to bring Holmes to trial, and there the matter rested. In dealing with an enemy who had discarded international law almost whenever it suited him, no other conclusion was possible. Holmes was an upright and fair-minded commander who well served not only Australia and the Empire but also the Territory and its German and other inhabitants. Nevertheless much trouble would have been saved, Australian prestige held quite as high, and a British tradition of inestimable value preserved, had the law of the country been allowed to run its ordinary course.

Manning had held the position of Judge and legal adviser from the 12th of September, 1914. His tenure of judicial office coincided with the unsettled and formative period during which the chief object of Holmes and of his successor Pethebridge was to establish the occupation upon an effective military basis. Military considerations, therefore, rather than executive and administrative problems, came first in the minds of the Administrator and his chief officers: the government of the country must be carried on, but this task was regarded as incidental to the military situation, and not as a principal end and aim. Colonel Holmes's outlook, in spite of his real ability as an Administrator, was essentially military, and his conduct was influenced by the fact that, with a great war shaking Europe and the British Empire to their foundations, he was impatient of purely administrative work and desirous of getting away from New Guinea to see active service at the The same may be said of Manning—who, while carrying out his duties with great legal ability, was anxious to be gone, and did not conceive himself bound to do more than cope with the existing situation. The war was not expected to last long, the military occupation was regarded as transient, and the actual structure of the administration at this stage was only inchoate; economic conditions were still greatly disturbed, and planters and merchants had not yet fully gathered up the threads of their interrupted business These conditions affected the legal side of the administration, inasmuch as they restricted the volume of litigation. Further, with a British Judge presiding over the court, the German colonists were not anxious to bring actions Most of the legal work which Manning found to do was therefore in the advisory and administrative branches, and, as a barrister, he found less interest in these than in the judicial functions and the practice and procedure of the court.

In response to a request made by Holmes for a successor to relieve Manning, the present writer was chosen. He arrived in Rabaul on the 2nd of April, 1915, and within two days Manning had handed over his duties and arranged to proceed to Australia by the same steamer which had brought his relieving officer. He left New Guinea on April 4th.

Manning had played an important part in the first stage of the military occupation, and his is the distinction of having been the first British Judge of the Territory. The title of Assistant Judge-Advocate-General held by him was now changed to that of Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, and to this position the new legal adviser was appointed, as also to that of Judge of the Colony.

By this time Colonel Pethebridge had completed his arrangements for utilising his Eastern troops as an occupying force, and had provided garrisons in accordance with the plans agreed upon between himself and Colonel Holmes. addition to the posts established by Holmes, Morobe, Eitape. and Namatanai had been occupied and garrisoned. Pethebridge had also reorganised the various departments, and was now ready to embark upon a constructive policy. He at once turned his attention to questions which, pending the appointment of a new legal adviser, he had held in abevance, because as he explained to the Minister for Defence in a despatch dated the 15th of April, 1915: "While he was here, Captain Manning was acting under instructions (mostly verbal) given by Colonel Holmes, and as he had already signified his desire to be relieved as early as possible, I thought it undesirable to make any alteration in the procedure he had found it necessary to adopt."

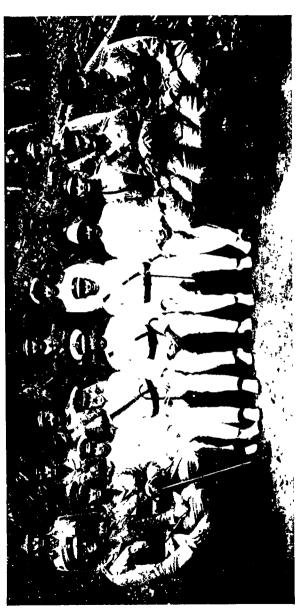
There now ensued a period during which much was in the making. Pethebridge, as a public servant whose work had lain mainly in the administrative sphere, was more interested in the carrying on of the government of the country than was Holmes, with whom the military situation had been paramount. The occupation of the Territory was effectively established, and everything was favourable for stabilising the hastily-erected machinery of government. The system under which the Protectorate had been carried on by the German Government was closely studied; its best features were retained, or adopted with modifications deemed advisable in the existing circumstances; the legal scope of the functions of the government departments was clearly defined. The boundaries of the unfamiliar terrain were marked out, and

officials began to know their way about. By this time, too, the German settlers had grown more accustomed to the British Judge: whereas in the first months of the occupation they had as a rule brought to court only such formal matters as must necessarily be dealt with there, they now began to avail themselves freely of its civil jurisdiction. The realisation that the court under a British Judge was as accessible to them as it had been under a German, and that their case would be tried on its merits in an atmosphere free from national prejudice, did more perhaps than anything else to promote the growth of confidence in the British administration on the part of the German inhabitants. In view of the estrangement between British and Germans, the administration of justice in a German court by a British officer might have been expected to prove the most difficult experiment of the Australian administration; yet failure in this particular department would have shaken the whole fabric of govern-It was therefore fortunate that the economic and social conditions of the country and the earnest endeavours of the Australian officials-and, it must in fairness be added, the common-sense and co-operation of the German inhabitants -combined to effect a solution of this embarrassing and critical problem. The very thing which had loomed as a potential peril turned out to be an element of consolidation and a source of strength. From the difficulties surrounding the administration of German law the Australian government emerged with success and enhanced prestige.

But always (and especially at the beginning) the pitfalls demanded delicate walking. It was often difficult to forecast how racial sentiment and sympathies would operate. An instance may be given in the conduct of criminal trials. The German equivalent of the English jury system is to be found in the appointment of Beisitzers (assessors), who sit with the Judge. On the hearing of a criminal charge, where the accused is a European or a person having the legal status of a European, German procedure prescribes four Beisitzers, who take their places on the bench beside the Judge and constitute with him a court of which he is the President. The

procedure is in many respects similar to that followed by a court-martial. Assessors may put questions to the accused and, when deliberating on the evidence, may discuss questions of fact and of law. In arriving at a finding, the assessors vote in order of seniority, the youngest giving his decision first and the Judge last. The verdict is a majority one—except that, where a death sentence is recorded, the verdict must be unanimous. It will be seen that the powers of the Beisitzers are much greater than those of an English jury. The assessors can outvote the Judge, whose only exclusive prerogative is to give an interpretation of the law, by which the assessors are bound; but this does not restrict their power to bring in a verdict of acquittal (or of conviction) contrary to the vote of the Judge.

Here then was one of the problems to be met by the judicial officer of the administration. Having regard to the fact that German national sentiment was in an emotional state during the war, would the interests of justice be served by permitting a German national to be tried on a criminal charge by a court composed of four German Beisitzers and a British Judge? Would the sympathies of the German assessors lead them to acquit their compatriot in a case where the evidence conclusively proved that he was guilty? There was also the imminent danger that national hostility might cause a miscarriage of justice where the accused was a British civilian or the subject of an Allied Power. If racial sentiment should operate in these ways, the Australians would be impotent to administer justice in criminal trials. In April, 1915, feeling was still running high among the Germans in New Guinea in consequence of the flogging of those implicated in the assault on the missionary Cox. The course adopted by Holmes had led the German residents to impugn the new administration of justice, and their resentment was likely to react upon the court if a German accused of a criminal offence were brought for trial before the German Beisitzers. Moreover, where the Crown, as represented by the British administration, laid a charge against a German subject, the German settlers tended to draw a distinction between the British administration in



BRIGADIFR-GENERAL PETHFBRING AND STAFF, WITH HEADS OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS, 1917

(Auditor), Lieutenant J S. Colhoun (King's Harbour s.), J. T. Tennent (Government Stores and Supplies). L. McAdam (Native Affairs), Lieutenant-Commander colonel C. L. Strangman (P.M.O.), General Pethebridge, Lieutenant-Colonel Cummins (Chief E. McIlwaine (Postmaster), Captains E. F Plubbs (Customs), S. S. Mackenzie (Judge), Major, H. O. Newport (Director, Botanical Gardens), Major J. J. Surveyor), Captains F. Laycock (Native Affairs), T. R. L. Eather (Treasurer). Kershaw (Public Works) Back row (left to right) · Lieutenant W. E. Mellw Ixno (Government Printer), T W. Walker Wickham D. Macdonald (Radiotelegraphy), C Front row: Captains H

To face \$ 206

this capacity and the former German Government. An offence against territorial law after the occupation had not, in the eyes of the colonists, the same gravity as if it had been committed against that law when enforced by the German Government. The distinction thus made might easily develop into the notion that a German, in committing an offence against territorial law, was in fact only offending against or defying the British administration, and his action was therefore to be regarded as in some degree patriotic.

Something had to be done to stem the currents which were thus flowing against the administration. The juridical system was therefore carefully reviewed. The ordinances which regulated the constitution and procedure of the court fell within the limits of what is known as "adjectival law," as distinguished from substantive law, which embraced the territorial law of the Protectorate. It is permissible for a military occupant to modify or vary adjectival law, whereas only urgent military considerations justify him in making changes in the substantive law. It was decided, therefore, that the Administrator should exercise his legal powers and modify the practice of the Imperial District Court with the main object of suspending the functions of the Beisitzers. There was in the Territory at this time only a handful of British civilians and nationals of the Allied or neutral powers; the members of the occupying force, not being subject to the territorial law, were not eligible for appointment as Beisitzers; and it would not have been equitable to have taken away from the German settlers the right to sit as Beisitzers and at the same time to have appointed assessors of British, Allied, or neutral nationality. It was considered advisable to abolish the system of Beisitzers, and to vest in the Judge alone all the powers of the court. Partly as a preliminary step, and partly because it was thought that there should be a right of appeal from the court—a right which, it will be remembered, had been taken away by Holmes's ordinance of October, 1914-it was now provided by the Judiciary Ordinance-No. 1 (brought into force on the 13th of April, 1915) that "Henceforth during the British Military Occupation of the Colony of German New

Guinea, unless and until the Administrator shall further or otherwise order and direct, an Appeal shall lie from a judgment, sentence or order of the Imperial District Court (Kaiserliches Bezirksgericht) in its Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction to the Administrator in person in all cases where there would formerly have been a right of appeal to the Supreme Court (Obergericht)."

Three days later, on April 16th, a further ordinance promulgated by the Administrator gave legal effect to the decision to abolish Beisitzers. This new legislative measure was important, as it defined and regulated the constitution and policy of the court during a critical and evolutionary period. The ordinance provided that "Henceforth during the British Military Occupation of the Colony of German New Guinea, unless and until the Administrator shall further or otherwise order and direct, sessions of the Imperial District Court (Kaiserliches Bezirksgericht) in its civil and criminal jurisdiction shall be held and conducted by the Judge sitting alone: Provided that in pursuance of the provisions of the Iudiciary Ordinance bearing date the thirteenth day of April, one thousand nine hundred and fifteen, an Appeal shall lie from a judgment, sentence or order of the Imperial District Court to the Administrator in person in all cases where there would formerly have been a right of appeal to the Supreme Court (Obergericht)."

A new system was thus provided for the juridical needs of the Territory; the jurisdiction of the court was vested solely in the Judge, and the military administrator in person exercised the functions of a court of final appeal. In theory the system was perhaps the best that could be devised in the circumstances; in practice it was open to the objection that the Administrator was not a lawyer, and would therefore, in exercising his appellate jurisdiction, be guided by his legal adviser—who was also, as it happened, the Judge of the court from which the appeal would be brought. This factor, without doubt, seriously detracted from the merits of the system, and might have had the result of rendering nugatory the benefits to be expected from the grant of a right of appeal

to the Administrator. In actual experience, however, it was found that very few appeals were brought, and that in the determination of these the dual capacity of the legal adviser gave rise to no difficulty. And with its defects the system had at least this merit, that it gave to the military administrator the power to review the decision of the Judge if that decision had been given in a capricious or arbitrary manner.

To make effective provision for appeals was a matter of anxious concern to the legal adviser, upon whom in his capacity as Judge the abolition of *Beisitzers* had thrown additional responsibility, especially with regard to the hearing of capital charges; but as, during the year 1915, there was no other legal officer available in the expeditionary force, and only one other was added to the staff of the Law Department in 1916, it was impossible to establish the judiciary system upon any sounder basis for the time being.

Reference has been made in this chapter to the court under its German designation, Kaiserliches Bezirksgericht. April. 1015, the English title began to be adopted in judgments and in legal documents issued from the court; it also appeared beside the German title on the Court House at Rabaul. few months later it was decided to substitute a name that would be both more convenient and more appropriate to a military occupation. Accordingly, on the 14th of August, 1915, the "Judiciary Ordinance-No. 3" changed the appellation of the court and defined its jurisdiction with regard both to Europeans and to natives. This ordinance declared that "For the purposes of the administration of justice in the Possessions known as the Colony of German New Guinea the Court heretofore called the Kaiserliches Bezirksgericht (Imperial District Court) at Rabaul shall henceforth be called the Central Court. It shall be a superior court of record, and the process of the Court shall run and the judgments and orders of the Court shall have effect and may be executed throughout the Colony. The principal seat of the Court shall be at Rabaul, but the Judge may from time to time visit any district as occasion requires." The ordinance also prescribed that "The Court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine all civil cases in which a person, being a European or having the same rights or status as a European, is joined as a party, and shall have jurisdiction over the like person in any cause affecting his status under the laws relating to aliens, marriage, divorce, bankruptcy, or insolvency. The Central Court shall also have and exercise criminal jurisdiction over Europeans and persons having the same status as Europeans, and shall have and exercise criminal jurisdiction over natives (whether aboriginal natives of the Colony or members of any race not having the legal status of Europeans) if and when the Administrator shall refer or remit a cause or suit affecting a native to the Judge of the Central Court, either as a Court of first instance or of appellate jurisdiction. An appeal shall lie from a judgment decree or order of the Central Court to the Administrator in person."

This definition of the jurisdiction of the Central Court remained without modification throughout the military occupation. The powers and authority of the Court corresponded approximately to those of the Supreme Court of one of the Australian States, and were thus ample to serve not only the ordinary administration of civil and criminal law but also the exigencies of the military government.

One of the chief difficulties incidental to the administration of justice during the military occupation lay in the fact that few (if any) of the officers appointed to the charge of administrative districts had had any legal training or any previous experience of work of this kind, yet they were called upon to preside over the magistrate's court in their own district and to adjudicate in innumerable matters. therefore necessary that, as far as possible, cases which involved a knowledge of legal principles should be dealt with by the Judge of the Central Court, either at Rabaul, or on circuit in the various administrative districts. It was not, of course, practicable for one Judge to deal with all the cases which arose in a wide-spread territory; but to a great extent the difficulty was met by the exercise of a close supervision on the part of the Judge over decisions given in the magistrates' These decisions, with a résumé of the evidence, were regularly forwarded to Rabaul in the form of reports by district officers, and were referred by the Administrator to the Judge, who was thus able to review any judgment or order which in his opinion was erroneous in law, and to reduce or remit any fine or sentence of imprisonment which seemed to him excessive or unjustified. This system operated as a fairly effective check on miscarriage of justice caused by lack of knowledge of legal principles and procedure. It was far from ideal, and left the door open to grave possibilities; but in actual practice it worked surprisingly well, mainly because the district officers frankly recognised their lack of legal knowledge and training and understood that it was to their own interest to co-operate closely with the Central Court and refer matters to the Judge for hearing, or to apply to him for direc-This attitude was further encouraged by the facts first—that the Judge was also the head of the Department of Justice and gave special attention to the administration of the law by district officers, and—second—that difficulties in regard to the German language and the retention of German law caused district officers to look to the Central Court for interpretation of all laws of German origin. In these and other ways the Central Court acquired a dominance quite apart from its legal jurisdiction; and the Judge, because of his judicial office and his position as legal adviser to the administration. became the pivot on which the whole legal machinery turned.

For the first eighteen months of the military occupation the officer holding the position of legal adviser dealt with all matters of law, whether administrative or juridical. He advised the Administrator on questions of international, military, or territorial law, and the administrative officers on legal questions relating to their functions; he drafted the ordinances promulgated by the Administrator; he gave directions to the district officers on magisterial procedure, and reviewed their findings and sentences. He was also accessible to the public for advice on questions born of the abnormal conditions. Finally, he had to administer justice as Judge of the Central Court, and in this respect was heavily handicapped by the circumstance that there was no crown law officer or counsel practising at the bar.

These conditions could not continue indefinitely. At the end of the year 1915 another legal officer was appointed to assist the Deputy Judge-Advocate-General. He took over the

duties of crown law officer, acting as crown prosecutor and relieving the Judge of a great proportion of departmental work, thus leaving him more free for his judicial duties and his special advisory functions. The new officer was Norman Rowland, a member of the New South Wales bar, who during the next three years rendered sterling service to the administration. By the middle of 1917 the legal staff had been further reinforced by the appointment of Edwin Tylor Brown, a Melbourne barrister, whose period of service was marked by useful work performed with signal ability. With three legal officers it was now possible to make administrative arrangements whereby the legal work of the Government was carried out in a manner which left the Judge, the Crown Law Officer, and the Assistant Crown Law Officer each untrammelled in the exercise of his official duties.

⁴ Maj. N. de H. Rowland. Barrister; of Sydney; b. Rockhampton, Q'land, 22 Nov., 1874.

^{*}Capt. E. T. Brown Barrister, of Melbourne; b. Melbourne, 29 Aug., 1889.

CHAPTER XVII

LAND POLICY AND THE CONTROL OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

At the time when its authority was suspended by the military occupation, in September, 1914, the Government of German New Guinea was pursuing an active policy of land-alienation, and giving practical encouragement to the development of tropical agriculture. The lands acquired by the New Guinea Company during the years of its plenary powers as a chartered company were held by it under a freehold tenure. Before the declaration of a protectorate over north-eastern New Guinea and the New Britain Archipelago (Bismarck Archipelago), land at Molot and Mioko in the Duke of York Islands, and in New Britain at Matupi, on the shores of Blanche Bay and at Kokopo (Herbertshöhe) on St. George's Channel, had been purchased from the natives by pioneer Their purchases were subsequently confirmed as freeholds These facts shaped and by the German Government. determined the land policy of the Protectorate, and, up to the beginning of the year 1914, most land alienated by the Government had been granted in freehold. The procedure followed in acquiring land was this. The intending purchaser selected the area he desired, and obtained the preliminary consent of the native owners to sell it to him; thereupon he requested the Government to purchase the land on his behalf. If the Government approved, it satisfied itself that the natives were not acting under coercion and would still retain sufficient land for their own needs. The Government then bought the land from the native owners and transferred it to the applicant upon his compliance with prescribed conditions. had to pay (a) the price agreed upon with the natives, (b) a sum (fixed by law) for each hectare of land alienated by the Crown. He had also to bear the cost of survey and the fee for registering the purchase of the land.

Prior to 1902 the interests of native landowners had not been closely guarded, and too often they had unwittingly parted irrevocably with their entire inheritance. Whole islands, for instance, had become the absolute property of commercial companies and planters, though the former native owners had intended to sell only the right to clear and cultivate land, without encroachment upon the full enjoyment of tribal life with its social and agricultural customs and its traditional places for fishing and barter. Legislation brought into force in 1902 introduced the principle that purchases of land from the natives should thenceforth be conditional on, and accompanied by, reservations and covenants designed to safeguard the agricultural, hunting, fishing, and other occupational or customary needs of natives who had exercised any rights of possession or ownership over the particular area intended to be sold, and that such purchases must be subject to the approval of, and be made through, the Government.

This parental guardianship was all the more necessary because absolute ownership of the land by individual persons. as understood in European systems of law, is unknown to the natives of the Protectorate. In New Guinea each family in a tribe has lands; the boundaries are known and recognised by the other families, and the family-group exercises full and unmolested control over its area. A member of the family can purchase from his kin the exclusive rights of ownership over a definite portion of the inheritance, but only for his lifetime: on his death the land reverts to the family-group. A distinction is also drawn between the ownership of the soil and that of the trees or other cultures planted upon it; one man may have an estate or interest of some kind in the land, another man may own the fruit-trees or nut-palms growing on Titles and tenure are further complicated by the facts that each tribe is divided into two exogamous classes, and that all the children of a family belong to the mother's class. This rule of matriarchy—that is, the principle of determining descent and inheritance by the mother's side and not by the father's-precludes sons from succeeding to land held by their father, since the father's land belongs to one of the two exogamous classes, while the sons, taking their descent from their mother, belong to the other.

Side by side with these rights and principles of inheritance go the customs and usages of the family-group. The members

of a family have the right to free use of the land, and to divide off portions for their plantations as they please; moreover they are continually making and abandoning plantations in different places, so as to have the benefit of virgin soil. Hence a member of a family-group may for a season have his plantation in one spot, but the next year may select a site several miles away.

Thus the sale of tribal or family lands to Europeans may affect all kinds of tenures and interests of individuals and family-groups. In negotiations for the alienation of tribal land the heads of the family-groups are regarded by their kinsfolk as the owners (for the time being) of the whole of the tribal land. But as a rule the head of a group will not part with any portion of family land without the approval of the leading men of the district, and these representatives join with the head of the family in making their marks on the written contract of sale. It is, however, always difficult for a native of New Guinea to understand that he is selling the land outright. He is inclined to look on the purchase money as rent paid for the right to use the land; often he believes that this right is contingent on the land being kept in cultivation, and that it extends only to such areas of the land as are actually cleared or planted. Further, a family-group exercises full control over the giving or withholding of consent to alienation of even uninhabited portions of the district which the tribe recognises as within the jurisdiction of that group, and sometimes this authority is acknowledged as extending to unoccupied lands adjoining the family's sphere of influence.

In its land legislation the German Government had gradually arrived at a full recognition of the principles of tenure and ownership of land existing among the natives of the Protectorate. During the period 1885-99, when the New Guinea Company held sole sway, great tracts of land were acquired by it under its charter with little regard to native rights. The families and tribes then in occupation of areas taken up by the company were permitted to remain on the land. But when the company ceased to exercise powers of government and became solely a commercial

corporation, these areas were proclaimed to be in its absolute ownership, and thenceforth the natives had no rights or privileges of occupation except by sufferance.

Very similar was the position of natives who entered into negotiations for the sale of their lands to other companies and planters prior to or during the executive régime of the New Guinea Company. The chartered company, intolerant as it was of adverse possession by natives over lands which it had selected for its own use and occupation, was not likely to be deeply concerned with protecting native rights ieopardised in transactions with other purchasers, unless such dealings were in conflict with the company's commercial and political interests. Thus, when on the 1st of January, 1899, the German Government took over executive and administrative functions from the company, land alienation had passed the stage where native rights could be uniformly conserved throughout the Territory. Existing titles could not be interfered with; legislative action could be applied only to future grants of land.

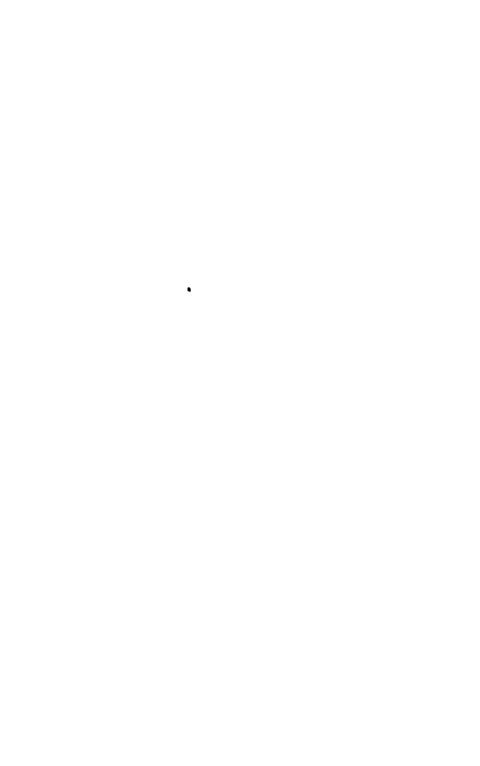
It has been necessary to look thus far into past history in order to indicate clearly the problems which confronted the German Government when it assumed control of the Protectorate, and the factors which moulded land legislation into the form which it had taken by the commencement of the British military administration. Some problems of native rights, especially those relating to usage and occupation and the conservation of native reserves, remained as a legacy for the military government. The administration was thus unable to choose a clear path, or to impose its own ideas; its course had already to a great extent been set for it by its predecessor.

In the decade preceding the war, the demand in world markets for copra (the dried kernel of the coconut) had steadily grown, since the essential vegetable-oil obtained from it is used in the manufacture of soap, glycerine, confectionery, and margarine. This commercial demand for copra created a demand for land suitable for the cultivation of coconut palms, and stimulated planters to take up land in New Guinea, where the soil and climate are particularly favourable for tropical agriculture. The outbreak of war closed a period wherein the economic development of the Protectorate had



NATIVES HUSKING COCONUTS FOR COPRA

The fibre covering of the coconut is first broken in several places by forcing it on to a sharp stake fixed in the ground. It is then wrenched off, and the shell split with an axe. After this the green copra is extracted with a sharp knife, spread on trays, and dried in the sun or in drying houses.



been marked by advances greater than any previously made in its history. When the German administration was overthrown, numerous land grants were in their final stages of survey and registration, hundreds of titles were inchoate or incomplete, and many applications for land were under consideration.

It was inevitable that the progress of land settlement should be sharply checked, and the position of uncompleted titles profoundly affected, by the war. A comprehensive review of the land question, in both its legal and its political aspects, was therefore made at an early stage of the occupa-While Colonel Holmes was Administrator, economic conditions were unsettled and the question of a land policy was left undecided; at that stage the German settlers themselves had little interest in the fate of their applications, inasmuch as the isolation of the Territory from its oversea markets, the general collapse of trade, and uncertainty as to the fate of the colony, rendered the present and the future alike precarious, and removed any immediate incentive either to add to their existing interests or to undertake new ventures. The Administrator, too, had at this time more urgent and insistent problems to deal with. But by the middle of 1915 conditions in the Protectorate had altered. Trade between New Guinea and Australia had become established, and markets had thus been found for the products of the Territory; further, the German settlers had realised that under the military occupation property would be protected and legal rights upheld. Applications for grants of land were therefore renewed, and the completion of titles to land already alienated was urged upon the administration. The land question could no longer be postponed, if anomalies were to be corrected and confusion forestalled.

The problem was not simple. The chief difficulty was the impossibility of estimating how long the military occupation would last. Should it be greatly prolonged, the administration would necessarily become invested with many attributes of a permanent government; a land policy, once inaugurated, would in the course of one or two years create property interests which could not be subsequently repudiated, and which, upon the cessation of the military régime, would tie the hands of

its successor. Yet the cultivation of the Territory had to be carried out, and the inhabitants could not, without becoming a charge on the administration, await indefinitely the chances of a world-wide war. The essential industries of New Guinea were agricultural, and its colonists' lot was bound up with the land.

At the inception of the occupation the administrative system of the German Department of Lands was maintained. first officer appointed by Holmes to the position of Director of Lands and Surveys was Lieutenant Goadby. As, however, there was no land policy in existence, and as survey work had been interrupted by the departure of the German surveyors, the scope of his duties was restricted, and his main activities were directed to the collecting of revenue from Crown leases, to furnishing particulars of the titles to lands, and to the preparation of plans required by the administration. the seat of government had been moved from Herbertshöhe to Rabaul in 1910, the Lands Office had not been transferred. The new capital lacked sufficient accommodation for all the administrative departments; and the Lands Office-which required large rooms and good light, and had spacious quarters in a fine old bungalow which had once been Government House—had been left behind at Herbertshöhe. continued to remain during the first six months of the military occupation.

When, however, the adoption of a land policy became urgent. Pethebridge abolished the position of Director of Lands and Surveys, and placed the Lands Department under the immediate control of his legal adviser, thus making it a branch of the Department of the Deputy Judge-Advocate-General—a title which had, somewhat loosely, been retained for the officer who dealt with all legal matters affecting the military administration. The main reason for this change was that, in the circumstances, nearly every dealing with land involved some question either of territorial or of international law, and it was more convenient to invest the administration of lands in the legal adviser than to be constantly referring land matters for his opinion. Questions of policy were left to, or discussed with, the Administrator, but the routine of

¹ Lieut.-Col. B. T. Goadby, R.A.E. Officer of Aust. Permanent Forces; b. Bobena, near Jhansi, India, 20 Aug., 1862.

administration and the technical problems were taken off his hands. This arrangement had the additional advantage of providing a safeguard against a committal of the administration to any dealings with land without fully realising the legal effect of its action—a very necessary precaution, more especially as the land laws were in a foreign language and the scope of the authority of district officers and other officials was not always accurately known to themselves. The fact that the legal adviser was also, in his capacity as Judge, the Registrar-General of Titles, constituted a further reason for entrusting to him at that stage the whole land organisation. He was thus able to collect, preserve, or make a full record of, every title dealing with land, and so to carry out a uniform policy.

The first thing to be done was to devise a policy which might be expected to endure for the term of the occupation. There were three divisions into which alienated lands and lands in process of alienation could be grouped. The first comprised lands in respect of which the German Government had definitely undertaken to give a title; the whole (or the greater proportion) of the purchase-money had been paid, the purchasers were in occupation, the area was under cultivation. the provisions of the law had been complied with, and there remained only the final stages—such as the determination by survey of the exact area, and the formal grant of title. military administrator was advised that in these cases the military occupant should honour the obligations entered into by his predecessor, and should be prepared to grant the same kind of title, each case being considered on its merits. In the second division the title was in a less advanced stage. Land had been taken up by permission of the German Government, and a beginning had been made to clear and plant the area selected, but in the majority of these cases there had been no survey, nor had the conditions of the purchaseagreement been fully complied with, sometimes owing to circumstances which the former German Government might have recognised as justifiable, sometimes to conditions brought about by the outbreak of war. For example, when a purchaser had been obtaining funds from Germany wherewith to pay instalments of purchase-money and defray the expenses

of carrying on his plantation, he found his supplies cut off by the interruption of communications with Europe, and was thus unable to make further payments on account of purchasemoney at the due date. He may, however, have subsequently arranged to obtain financial assistance from one of the large commercial companies in Rabaul, and may then have tendered the arrears to the administration. The question which had then to be considered was whether non-compliance on the part of the purchaser with the conditions of the contract was due to causes beyond his control, or whether it would warrant the administration in regarding the contract as cancelled. case had to be considered on its merits, and often special circumstances and conflicting factors rendered the final decision difficult. Sometimes, for these or other reasons, a ruling on a land matter of this kind was deferred; but this brought its own nemesis, as the applicant was thereby enabled to plead that he had been left in undisturbed occupation of the land, and allowed to continue clearing and planting, with the full knowledge of officials of the Government and that, therefore, the administration must be deemed to have waived any defect in his claim.

The third division of land matters included applications to purchase land, in respect of some of which only the preliminary stages had been dealt with. The most the former Government had done was to issue a permit allowing the applicant to purchase land from the natives on behalf of the Government. Some applicants had acted upon this permit, taking at least the first step of making a payment to the native owners of the land selected; others had not exercised their authority up to the commencement of the occupation. Other applications had been received and recorded, but no further official action had been taken. The policy of the administration was that, where rights conferred by the permit had in fact been exercised, sanction was given to clear and cultivate the land included in such permit; where a permit was in force, but, owing to the war, had not been acted upon, it was ratified. The approval of the administration was, however, withheld if personal or other reasons disentitled the applicant from receiving consideration.

Among the new problems were the carrying out of survey work and the consideration of fresh applications for land.

Before titles could be confirmed or granted, it was obviously essential to survey the areas applied for, and to delimit their boundaries: but here the administration was faced with serious practical difficulties. The German Government had carried out systematic surveys by means of an official survey corps, and contracts had been entered into between private surveyors and certain companies and planters. But all survey work was suspended by the war, the German official surveyors were repatriated to Germany, and only a few private contracts were subsequently carried out. Moreover the work of the survey corps was badly in arrear; many surveys had been left uncompleted, and there was a long waiting list. expeditionary force could not supply men experienced in the special work required. It was therefore decided to recommend to the Commonwealth authorities that a survey staff corps should be formed in Australia and attached to the occupying force. Accordingly in September, 1915, a memorandum dealing with this matter and giving a review of the position of land titles in the Protectorate, was forwarded by the Administrator to the Secretary for Defence, and was by him forwarded to the Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department for advice upon the legal issues involved. That officer concurred in the views of the Administrator, and advised that there was no objection to confirming the acts of the German Government where the latter had agreed to grant a title and where there had been part performance of the contract by the purchaser. On this opinion the formation of the survey staff corps would have been at once undertaken by the Defence Department; but the whole matter was suspended by the Acting Attorney-General, who was not a lawyer. He took the surprising view that the carrying-out of this project would be in conflict with the past policy of the Commonwealth Government, which had adopted leasehold tenures for land in Papua and the Northern Territory of Australia. failed to understand the real issue, which was that the military administration was definitely committed to confirmation of the titles which its predecessor had contracted to grant. Consequently a delay of nearly eighteen months occurred before the obstacle thus unexpectedly raised could be surmounted. and it was the beginning of 1917 before a survey corps arrived in the Territory and was able to carry out the programme of work.

In the meantime it had become an embarrassing problem to know how to deal with titles. The Lands Department, besieged with requests and applications, found itself compelled to mark time in regard to a question which called for urgent action, and to restrict its scope on the very side which insistently demanded growth and expansion. In these circumstances an ordered and progressive administration of the department was impossible. The situation which had thus been forced upon the military government was difficult, and would have been still more difficult if matters relating to land titles had been wholly suspended while the question was being dealt with in Melbourne. After months of waiting, however, when a long delay appeared inevitable, the legal adviser, confident of the soundness of the case which had been submitted. recommended that the originally outlined policy should, in urgent cases, be proceeded with, in anticipation of the Commonwealth Government's ultimate approval. To this course. after being satisfied that the matter lay within his powers as military occupant, the Administrator gave his full support. The adviser's intention was, while dealing cautiously with titles to lands, to put in train an organisation for survey work. Attached to the garrison at Madang at this time was Corporal Macintosh,² an unassuming man who was known to have had some experience in civil engineering. His work in planning and carrying out the draining of a large fever-haunted swamp at Madang had attracted the favourable notice of Captain Ogilvy, the district officer; he mentioned the fact to the Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, who at the moment was endeavouring to find a way in which a beginning could be made with field surveys. It occurred to him that Macintosh might fill the gap until professional surveyors could be obtained from Australia. Upon inquiry it was found that Macintosh was a qualified civil engineer, and had been connected with wharf construction and other important works in Australia

² Capt. P. H. M. Macintosh. Civil and mining engineer; of Sydney; b. Banchory, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, 12 June, 1882.

² Capt. W. M. Balfour Ogilvy. Journalist. of Renmark. S. Aust.; b. Castleton, Berehaven, Co. Cork, Ireland, 29 Jan., 1875.

and New Zealand. Though without experience in the actual practice of field surveying, he was familiar with its principles and methods, and he expressed his readiness to undertake the task. He was therefore transferred to the Department of the Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, and in June, 1916, was put in charge of the survey branch. The first systematic surveys made by the military administration were carried out by him. and he proved himself a particularly useful and efficient officer.

By February, 1917, the difficulties had been overcome. that month four surveyors who had had a long course of training and experience of field surveying in rough bush country-Major Cummins,4 and Captains Charlton,5 Moore,6 and Hunt⁷—arrived at Rabaul, and were forthwith attached to the survey branch. Of these, Cummins, who was appointed Chief Surveyor, and Charlton had already carried out surveys in Java and the Malay States, and were thus thoroughly familiar with tropical conditions. Moore and Hunt were experienced government surveyors from South Australia and New South Wales respectively. The services of a capable Warrant-Officer McMurtrie,8 whose draughtsman. deserves special mention, had also been obtained. Theodolites. specially selected non-variable steel tapes, and all accessories had been arranged for; and very soon Charlton, Moore, and Hunt were each at the head of a well-equipped field party. The localities to be surveyed were determined with regard to the condition of the title and the urgency of the case, and distinct spheres of action were allotted to each staff surveyor Cummins remained at headquarters to co-ordinate the work of the field parties, and to examine titles in conjunction with the legal adviser. He was thus available to carry out special work and to relieve his subordinates if occasion arose through sickness or any other emergency.

⁴ Lieut. Col. J. J. Cummins. Surveyor and civil engineer; of Beenleigh, Q'land; b. Leighlin Bridge, Co. Carlow, Ireland, 10 Oct., 1878. Died, 31 July, 1936.

⁵ Capt, F. R. Charlton. Surveyor; of Brisbane; b. Maryborough, Q'land, 27 Jan., 1886.

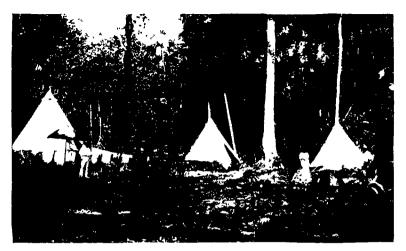
⁸ Capt G. D. Moore Licensed surveyor; of Adelaide, b. Glanville, S. Aust., 28 March, 1884.

⁷ Capt. J. H. Hunt. Licensed surveyor; of Sydney; b. Burwood, N.S.W., 14 Nov., 1884. Died 21 June, 1926

⁸ Warrant-Officer H. E. McMurtrie. Architect; of Melbourne; b. St. Arnaud, Vic., Feb., 1886. Died of illness, 19 Apr., 1919.

The work of these field parties was arduous. members of the party were to a great extent cut off from the companionship of their comrades in the garrisons and from such amusements and comforts as were to be obtained in the townships: the task was laborious and intricate, and had to be carried out for the most part through dense jungle and forest, often in bad swampy country, sometimes in the midst of treacherous natives, and nearly always in localities where malarial fever was prevalent; but it had as advantages life in the open air, change of scene, absence of garrison routine, and the spice of adventure. There was never any difficulty in getting men to join the field parties. The survey parties tackled their tasks in a cheerful spirit which overcame all troubles and hardships; the officers in charge set a fine example of physical fitness and endurance, while the accurate and reliable standard invariably maintained in their technical work entitles them to high praise. Not the least of the factors that contributed to success were the professional qualifications and organising ability displayed by Cummins as Chief Sur-Administrative officials who had the opportunity of instituting comparisons could easily see that the work done by these Australian surveyors maintained a technical standard higher than the surveys previously carried out under the German Government.

What were officially termed "unfinished land matters"that is, the titles and the applications for grants which had not been finally dealt with by the German Government, as distinguished from the titles which had been completed and entered in the Grundbuch, or Register of Lands—were by no means the only problems connected with the administration of After the first year of the war, as month glided into month and the occupation continued, the planters began to have regard to their future needs. Some of them, having brought the greater part of their holdings under cultivation. desired to take up more land: other settlers, who had been in the employment of the companies or of individual planters, thought to strike out for themselves as owners of plantations. From causes of this kind, applications were made from time to time to the administration for permission to take up land for the cultivation of coconut-palms. Now these applications



A SURVEY CAMP ON A SPECIALLY CLEARED SITE IN THE JUNGLE AT MARBERI, BOUGAINVILLE, APRIL 1917

Taken by Warrant-Officer F. O. Cutler, A.N. & M.I.T. Aust. War Memorial Collection No. J2027



A SURVEY PARTY AT WORK

A "cut line" and bridge through jungle and swamp, New Ireland

Taken in August 1918 by Warrant-Officer F. O. Cutler, A.N. & M.E.F.

Aust. War. Memorial Collection, No. 12930

10 face p. 284

were on a totally different footing from those already discussed, regarding which the military government was more or less bound by the acts of its predecessor. The new applications were made with a knowledge of the abnormal conditions prevailing under a military occupation, and the Administrator was not trammelled by any previous transactions.

The official attitude finally adopted with regard to these applications was influenced by the fact that everything appeared to point to a protracted military occupation. it been thought that the period of provisional government would soon come to an end, applicants would have been informed that these matters must await the establishment of civil administration after the war. But in New Guinea, as the inhabitants were permitted under the terms of capitulation to carry on their usual vocations, and as the flow of trade set in between the Territory and the Commonwealth, economic and political conditions approximated as closely to those prevailing under a civil administration as was possible in the face of the actual status. The young colony continued to exhibit all the signs of healthy growth, and this commercial activity—which implied primarily an increasing output of agricultural products—necessarily involved an increase in the Yet the administration was reluctant to cultivated area. entertain any fresh applications for land. It wished to leave its successor free to frame a land policy fitted for the needs of the Territory in post-war conditions. It had, however, to deal with applications for yearly leases of small areas for trading stations, market-gardens, and other like purposes There was no reason for declining to grant short-term leases: moreover, to have done so would have seriously affected the copra trade, since a large proportion of the copra exported is collected from the natives by traders who have stores on these small leaseholds. But when applications were made for permission to take up large areas of land for plantations, The work of clearing and different considerations arose. planting is costly; a large number of native labourers has to be employed; and no payable return can be obtained from coconut-palms under eight years of age. The very nature of the undertaking therefore requires security of tenure, and this security of tenure was precisely what the military

administration could not give. The applicants were willing, nevertheless, to take all risks, and asked only that they should be given temporary occupation of the land and permission to clear and plant the area applied for. Certain applications of this kind were granted on the basis of a lease from year to year, containing a clause to the effect that the administration was not bound to renew the lease at the expiration of the yearly term, and another clause stating that the lease did not bind the military administration or its successor to grant a title to the land, and that, in the event of a title not being granted, no compensation could be claimed for the value of improvements effected. A yearly rent at the rate of half-acrown per hectare (two and one-half acres) was payable under these leases. The conditions were readily agreed to by the They doubtless took the view that, if the military lessees. administration accepted rentals from year to year for leasehold land upon which a permanent plantation of great potential value was being established, an equitable right on the part of the lessee was being created, and that the successor to the military administration would regard itself as morally bound to grant an estate either of freehold or of leasehold for a long term of years. These arguments were, in fact, submitted to the Administrator in support of a contention that the provisional government, in granting these leases, was probably binding its successor to grant titles to the land. At the best, it was a remarkable expedient devised to meet the pressure of circumstances created by the prolonged military occupation of a tropical territory.

The continuance of the military administration through a term of years presented yet another problem. This was the control of trade and commerce of the Territory during a period in which economic conditions in Europe, in Australia, and in New Guinea were both abnormal and unstable. On the face of things, this question might appear to have been simple, since, with the exception of a few Japanese vessels arriving at long intervals, the only ships trading to the Protectorate during the war were the steamers of the Burns Philp line, which provided a service between Australia and Rabaul. Thus, even if the German merchants and planters had been desirous of exporting their produce and importing

their goods through the East or by any channel other than the Sydney-Rabaul connection, they would necessarily have been precluded by the almost entire absence of facilities. commercial matters the aims of the military administration were directed to encouraging trade between the Commonwealth and New Guinea, and to protecting Australian interests; but it was necessary to ensure that no rights should be created which would be prejudicial to the future development of the Protectorate, or would impose restrictions on the choice of a policy after the war. The administration was faced with the problem that the Burns Philp Company was not only the owner of the ships which linked up Australia and New Guinea. but also carried on an extensive mercantile business with the Pacific islands and the East; and that the company—if, in addition to its control of shipping and freights, it acquired a considerable share of the import and export business-might secure a virtual monopoly of the trade. Until some five years before the outbreak of the war this company had maintained a shipping and trading connection with the German New Guinea possessions, including the Islands Territory; but it had been unable to compete with the steamers of the Norddeutscher-Lloyd, and had consequently withdrawn from the trade. From the very beginning of the military occupation, however, it had made plans for regaining its former connection with New Guinea, and showed great enterprise in its effort to secure control of the shipping and commercial interests of the occupied territory. The military administration was not opposed to the legitimate expansion of the company's business in relation to New Guinea, and was prepared to further its interests by according it concessions and support. but it did not desire to see this or any other commercial body in a position to dictate arbitrary rates for freight or to regulate the prices for goods or produce. As early as October, 1914, the company had arranged with the Commonwealth Government to send the steamer Moresby from Sydney to Rabaul with a cargo of rice and general provisions, of which the colony was then badly in need. These goods, which under Holmes's directions were apportioned between the Administration and the German firms, bore a ten per cent. general surcharge on cost, and in other respects the freight and prices

realised were very satisfactory to the company. In the wake of the Moresby there followed two ships of the same company in November, another in December, and another in January, 1915, thus constituting a regular service. During the next month the company endeavoured to secure a year's contract for the supply of all the rice requirements of the This application was supported by administration. contention that the German firms in Rahaul were attempting to secure the rice trade by negotiating for direct shipments by Dutch steamers from Java, failing which, it was alleged, they preferred a connection with either Singapore or Hong Kong rather than with Sydney, and that, as the steamers bringing rice from the East would lift the copra from Rabaul, Australian shipping firms would lose the trade. This matter was referred to the Administrator, who, on the 16th of March. 1015, replied that the German firms were naturally anxious to secure rice on the best terms, but that, so far, only 1,612 bags had been received from the East (and these had been ordered before the war) as against 14,025 bags from Australia; that only 185 tons of copra had been shipped to Dutch New Guinea as against 3,800 tons to the Commonwealth; and that there was no trade with the East. He understood, however, that a Japanese steamer was due at Rabaul with a general cargo and probably a large quantity of rice, which would, he thought, be available at cheaper rates than those which Burns. Philp and Company could offer. He doubted whether, so far as German firms were concerned, their source of supply could be controlled if that source was an allied or neutral country. In any case, while fostering Australian imports and exports, he did not consider it desirable to create a monopoly in favour of one firm. In a further communication, on the 20th of March. 1915. Pethebridge stated that, as the Japanese steamer had not yet arrived, he could not say how the prices of goods would be affected, but that—so long as the charges compared favourably—the German firms preferred to obtain goods from. and to send copra to, Australia rather than Japan. prevailing opinion, however, was that the Australian company's freight rates would be high. The Administrator submitted that the whole question was one of international policy involving relations with neutrals and allies. If Australia's

natural desire to secure the trade could be strengthened by Australian firms offering reasonable quotations for goods and freights, then it was a matter for consideration whether representations should be made to the British Government that, at any rate while Australian troops were in occupation, the Japanese should be induced to agree not to compete with Australia for the New Guinea trade In making this suggestion there is no doubt that Pethebridge contemplated a reciprocal undertaking on the part of Australia not to trade to the Caroline, Pelew, Marianne, and Marshall Islands.

The views expressed by the Administrator were amplified in a report to the Minister for Defence on the 3rd of April, 1015, in which he again referred to the importance of securing for Australia the trade to and from the Territory. question was deferred until his visit to Melbourne in July, 1915, when the general attitude of the Commonwealth Government towards the Pacific trade was discussed between him and the Minister for Defence, and it would appear that Pethebridge's views were approved. Upon the company's inquiring in August, 1915, as to the probability of the resumption of normal trade, the Defence Department stated that the Government would afford any facilities in its power with the view of furthering trading operations between the Commonwealth and New Guinea, and that, if the company could suggest any way in which the Government could assist in that direction, the Minister would welcome information.

During 1915 trade conditions in the Territory steadily improved, and by the end of that year the value of the exports assumed importance. In the meantime consideration had been given by the Administrator to the possibility that the money obtained from the sale of copra by the German firms might be leaking out for enemy purposes. The British Government had published a proclamation applying the "Trading with the Enemy" proclamations to territory in British military occupation. Accordingly Pethebridge, as a preliminary measure, on the 14th of December, 1915, issued an order addressed to the principal firms and the missions, requiring them thenceforth to file in the Central Court at

⁹ According to Rear-Adm. Consett (The Triumph of Unarmed Forces, pp. 171-2) copra itself (or its resultant product—oil) was reaching Germany from British colonies through Denmark.

Rabaul a certified list of all shipments made beyond the colony, with particulars as to quantity, the address of the consignee, the vessel by which it had been exported, the date of shipment, and the destination. Immediately these exports had been sold, full particulars were to be filed at the Court showing to whom they had been sold, what price had been realised, and the manner of disposal of the proceeds. The order further prescribed that from the 14th of December, 1915, all financial transactions between a firm in the colony and any person or firm outside the colony should be conducted through the Treasury at Rabaul and the Commonwealth Bank in Sydney, and that details of all such transactions were to be filed in the Court at Rabaul. All books or other documents were, on the request of any officer of the administration, to be produced for inspection.

In a report of the same date to the Minister for Defence. Pethebridge explained that—except for occasional small shipments by the Japanese to Japan-all exports of the colony were exported to Sydney. He therefore thought that, if the information required by his order were furnished, there should be no doubt as to the destination of the proceeds of cargoes sent to Australia: the fact that all financial transactions were to be made between the Rabaul Treasury and the Commonwealth Bank in Sydney should operate as an effective He suggested that a copy of his communication should be sent to the Governor of the Commonwealth Bank, who should be invited to co-operate with the Adminis-Pethebridge also indicated that it might be necessary to change the practice by which the several firms in Rabaul had separate agents in Sydney, and to arrange that one agent should be appointed to represent them all. In that contingency, he suggested that the Commonwealth Bank might undertake the work. The price of copra, he reported, was steadily rising, and stood then at £30 a ton in London. During the year, 11,672 tons had been exported to Sydney, representing a value of £350,160, of which he estimated that £250,000 was clear profit.

The Governor of the Commonwealth Bank agreed to co-operate, and on the 14th of January, 1916, outlined a suggested procedure. This was that one or more accounts should



The high backbone of mountains in southern New Ireland is the source of numerous rivers. THE RIVER AT SOHUN, NEAR NAMATANAI, NEW IRELAND

Taken by the Ree P Neuliaus

be opened in the Commonwealth Bank at Sydney, into which proceeds obtained from copra would be paid on realisation. The Bank, being advised of all shipments and of the agents to whom they had been consigned, would keep a proper check. ensuring that all proceeds were duly deposited. The parties shipping the copra were not to be permitted personally to operate on these accounts, but would be allowed to make purchases and receive shipments to be paid for out of the accounts by an arranged procedure. 10 Any surplus funds were to remain at the credit of the account, but the Bank would from time to time, on instruction from the administration, transfer these amounts to the Sydney account of the administration, which, in its turn, would pay them to the exporters at Rabaul. The Governor of the Bank recommended further that the firm authorised to act as agents for the principals in Rabaul should be thoroughly reliable and above suspicion, and suggested that a British firm should be He understood that a representative of Burns. appointed. Philp and Company was then visiting Rabaul in that connection, and suggested, that if the matter were placed in the hands of a company of such good standing, no uneasiness would be felt as to the proper conduct of the transactions. In other circumstances it was quite conceivable that every transaction would have to be closely watched, and considerable additional responsibility thereby thrown upon the Bank.

These proposals were telegraphed to Pethebridge, who, on the 25th of January, 1916, gave his general concurrence. With regard, however, to the suggestion that the agency should be given to Burns, Philp and Company, he again stressed the importance—in view of future policy—of considering the monopoly that might be created through having all the shipping business and the commercial agencies in the hands of one company. He suggested that the Bank should be agent and merely employ Burns, Philp or other suitable firms as sub-agents. He also pointed out that, under the existing conditions affecting freight to England, the payments upon

¹⁰ On presentation by the proper agent of an order from the principals in Rabaul, countersigned by the British Administration, together with the shipping documents of any shipment of goods to Rabaul, and accompanied by invoices, amounts would be paid to the agent, from the account, for the cost of the goods shipped.

sale of copra might be unduly delayed, and that the Bank would probably have to consider the question of making advances against shipments on their arriving at Sydney; otherwise the planters would hesitate about sending their produce, and this would materially affect revenue and the development of the colony. He expressed the opinion that, in view of future possibilities, the establishment of a branch of the Commonwealth Bank at Rabaul was well worth consideration.

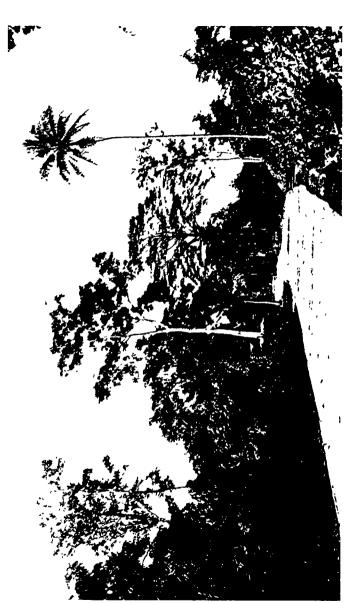
The Governor of the Bank adhered to his proposal concerning the agency, pointing out that it would be temporary, and that no permanent monopoly would be given. The Bank would supervise the business during the war without making any charge for its services beyond the ordinary exchange on transactions. In the meantime, however, Burns, Philp and Company had secured the agency of the Hamburg South Sea Company and of Hernsheim and Company. The New Guinea Company continued to transact its business through W. A. Gardiner and Company of Sydney, while the German Trading and Plantations Company—the New Guinea branch of the "long handle firm"—appointed as its agent the Sydney firm of Nelson and Robertson. These appointments were formally approved by the Administrator after reference to the Minister for Defence.

This settled the problem as to the agency. Moreover, as British and not German firms were now acting as Sydney agents for the German companies at Rabaul, the necessity for the payment of the whole of the proceeds directly into the Commonwealth Bank no longer existed. Pethebridge therefore proposed that the Sydney agents should hold and dispose of the proceeds, but that, at the end of each month, they should lodge at the Commonwealth Bank a declaration showing all transactions, and particularly all disbursements—which should be made only after approval of the Administrator. Books and bank accounts were to be subject to inspection by the Commonwealth Bank. Pethebridge was seeking a way in which, consistently with adequate control, the ordinary commercial business of the country could be transacted without unnecessary trammels, and he was somewhat apprehensive of

its becoming clogged with rigid banking rules that were only indirectly relevant to his object. Thus, when in respect of his suggested variation in procedure, the Bank considered that the existing arrangement—"which appeared to be working quite smoothly "—should not be altered for the present, Pethebridge rejoined that if that arrangement was working smoothly he would hardly have proposed a change. He contended that the Bank naturally looked at matters entirely from a banker's point of view, with which he was only partly concerned. The matter, he urged, was not one of banking, but of Government policy relating to development of trade during the military administration.

At this juncture—after the Administrator's views had been laid before the Minister for Defence by the legal adviser while on furlough in Australia, and after the Governor of the Bank had been furnished with a report by his representative, who was at Rabaul in connection with the opening of a branch—a modus operandi was arrived at. It was suggested that the Rabaul branch of the Bank should be supplied by the Customs Department of the Territory with regular lists of all copra shipments from the colony, showing the agents to whom the copra had been consigned. The Bank at Sydney would record the shipments, and the agents would be called upon to account for the proceeds by paying them into an account with the Bank immediately they were realised. regard to withdrawals from that account for the purpose of paying for merchandise shipped to Rabaul, all orders sent by principals in the Territory to their agents in Sydney were to be first authorised by the administration, and the agents at Sydney would be called upon by the Bank to produce this authorisation before being allowed to draw upon the proceeds of the copra, the Bank keeping a check and allowing only such amounts to be withdrawn as were properly authenticated. This arrangement would obviate the necessity of the merchants in Sydney entering into a bond with the Department of Trade and Customs to dispose of proceeds in strict accordance with the regulations. The arrangement would thus assist the selling agents without reducing the effectiveness of the Government's control over the proceeds.

This proposed outline formed the basis of the procedure that was thenceforth adopted for the control of imports and exports of the Territory. The co-operation of the administration and the Commonwealth Bank was, when once initiated, smooth-working and effective. No conflict arose as to the scope of their respective authorities. In the control of the trade and commerce of the Protectorate, as in the financial and other functions of the military government, the establishment of the branch of the Bank at Rabaul proved to be a measure of wide-ranging utility and potent assistance to the administration.



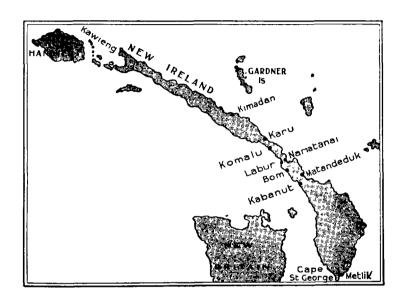
ROAD FROM KAWIENG, NEW IRELAND

This road (constructed by Bulumunski, the German District Officer at Kawieng) runs for over 100 miles.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE OUTSTATIONS

AT far-separated points on the coast of the mainland of New Guinea and of the larger islands of the Protectorate a cluster of white bungalows and a tall flagstaff flying the Union Jack denoted the headquarters of an administrative district. solitary sites, the outstations, were previously the centres of German governmental sway; during the occupation they were the manifestation of British military authority over the surrounding country. Beyond the little settlement, league after league along the coast and into the interior, extended the district over which control was to be exercised from that The district officer's domain was a focus of jurisdiction. great tract of little-known territory. The Eitape district had an area of 33,700 square miles (larger than Scotland and more than a third of the size of the State of Victoria); the Madang district 20,000 square miles; the Morobe district 13,600; the Käwieng district 1,700; the Namatanai district 2,100; the Manus district 900; the Kieta district 4,200. New Britain district (the partition of which into administrative sections was subjected to alterations from time to time) covered 14,900 square miles. Of all these, only the Käwieng and Namatanai districts could be considered as being, in nearly every part, under effective administrative That is to say, in those alone the government officials had access to most parts of their area by roads or tracks, could give a reasonable assurance that the lives of white settlers would be protected, and were able to enforce among the native peoples the laws and authority of the military administration. Even this stage had been attained mainly owing to the physical configuration and the comparatively small area of New Ireland and its adjacent islands. Penetration of the north-west portion of New Ireland had been rendered permanent by the administrative ability and prestige a German Government official, Buluminski, formerly district officer for New Ireland, who had conceived and accomplished the construction of a good road running for 110 miles from Käwieng to Kimadan. There was nothing like the Buluminski road elsewhere in the colony; and, to those with eyes to see, it pointed straight to the means by which the



Territory could be completely pacified. A further development of the north-west half of New Ireland was achieved by the existence of a road, less pretentious and in places becoming a bridle-path, which edges the west coast for a stretch of about 100 miles, as far as Komalu, on the boundary of the Käwieng and Namatanai districts. There are short roads, of a sort, and also tracks leading across the Schleinitz Range and the Lalet Plateau to the plains on the north-east coast. Around two islands off the New Ireland coast—New Hanover (Lavongai) and Gardner Island (Tabar)—run marginal roads. In the Namatanai district a road follows the coast for some 150 miles from the government station to the Siar country at Metlik, whence a narrow track winds over the steep promontory of Cape St. George. The west

coast road turns inland at Komalu, and climbs across the narrowest part of New Ireland to Karu on the east coast; another road from sea to sea traverses this isthmus from Labur to Namatanai, whence a third leads back again to the west coast at Bom. Farther south, there is yet another, crossing the island east to west from Matandeduk through Punam to Kabanut; and several rough native tracks wind through the lofty Hahl and Verron ranges.

Owing to the opening up of the Käwieng and Namatanai districts by these roads, and to the accessibility of most parts of the long narrow island from the sea, the greater portion of New Ireland had, before the beginning of the military occupation, been brought under administrative control; nevertheless there still remained considerable tracts in the interior of Namatanai district where no white man had ever been, and where government influence and authority had never penetrated the barriers of tropical forest and precipitous mountain.

In New Britain, great ranges, rising to over 5,000 feet and densely wooded to the summit, impose formidable obstacles to the crossing of the island. The same conditions exist in Bougainville, in the centre of which is the extensive Crown Prince Range, over 0,000 feet in height, and in the north is the Emperor Range, in which Mount Balbi lifts his smoking peak to a height of over 10,000 feet. of these islands has a large river opening the way into the Moreover, as regards New Britain, there are, interior. beyond the limits of the Gazelle Peninsula (itself in many parts almost inaccessible), no roads striking inland from the Similarly in Bougainville the roads leading away from Kieta keep close to the sea, and neither they nor any of the tracks in that island afford an easy means of penetrating far inland. Notwithstanding the long coast-line of these two islands, and the fact that at many points bays and coves give access from the sea, there are considerable portions of the interior which have never even been traversed by white men; indeed New Britain, except as to the Gazelle Peninsula, has only been crossed three times, and Bougainville once.

Thus over great stretches of these islands there was no effective control, and tribal warfare, head-hunting, and cannibalism went on unchecked. In the Admiralty group (Manus district) there were practically no means of access inland from the coast of the main island, of which the interior is rugged and mountainous. Moreover there are fairly long distances between the various islands in the group, and between it and the Western Islands. If administrative work in this district was to be effective, two conditions were required—the penetration of the main island by roads, and the provision of a vessel capable of withstanding the rough seas which in the north-west monsoon are so frequently encountered between these scattered islands. The military administration had at its disposal no vessel suitable for the patrol work of this outstation, and at times could not spare any craft at all; but early in 1915 the motor ketch Carola, of about ten tons burthen and five knots speed, which had been employed by the German Government in administrative service, was sent to Lorengau for the use of the district officer. She was too small and slow, and was subsequently withdrawn for other purposes, but in default of anything better she was useful.

In the Eitape district, government influence had not penetrated farther than the strip of coast between the Dutch border and the mouth of the Sepik River. Along this littoral, from Wanimo (a trading and recruiting outpost of the New Guinea Company) on Angriff's Harbour, a road runs for about 260 miles to the Sepik. Another, nearly thirty miles long, links Marienberg, on that river, with the coast. A third leads inland from Eitape itself for about forty miles, and farther south of that station, about half-way between it and the Sepik, there are short roads converging on Wewak at But there is none which strikes into Dallmann Harbour. the heart of the district; and, apart from difficult and hazardous native tracks, access to the hinterland of swamp, forest, tableland, valley, and mountain could be gained only by the great waterway of the Sepik.

In the Madang district the same general characteristics prevailed. For forty miles along the coast from Bogadjim, on Astrolabe Bay, through Madang to Port Alexis a road

had been constructed, but was of little practical use, since the bridges over several rivers had at different times been washed away in the rainy season, and the building of others strong enough to withstand the flood-waters of the racing streams in the north-west monsoon would have entailed an expenditure which, it was considered, could not be justified in the circumstances of military occupation. Apart from this road there were bridle-tracks leading inland from Madang, from Bogadjim, and from other points along the coast. But here again, as in the Eitape district, it was a great river—in this case the Ramu—which, for the practical purposes of administration, offered the means of penetration beyond the coastal The rugged character of the Morobe district, with its rapid rivers and sheer mountain ranges closely approaching the coast, imposes conditions unfavourable for the opening up of the country either by the waterways or by roads, and these difficulties had not in any great measure been overcome by the German Government.1 The valley of the Markham and the great river itself provide such means as exist for entry into the interior of this district.

Pacification of the extensive New Guinea mainland, in these three administrative divisions, would therefore under the most favourable circumstances have been an arduous undertaking: it could have been carried out only by systematic organisation, by the expenditure of a considerable sum of money in the purchase of special equipment, and by the establishment of permanent garrison outposts at additional points along the coast, and in the interior on the Sepik, Ramu, and Markham. It has already been stated that, following upon Cumberlege's expedition up the Sepik in December, 1914, an outpost was maintained at Angorum. But the small garrison posted there suffered so badly from malaria that towards the middle of 1915 Pethebridge, acting on Strangman's advice, abandoned the station as being too unhealthy. Thenceforth during the military administration no attempt was made to

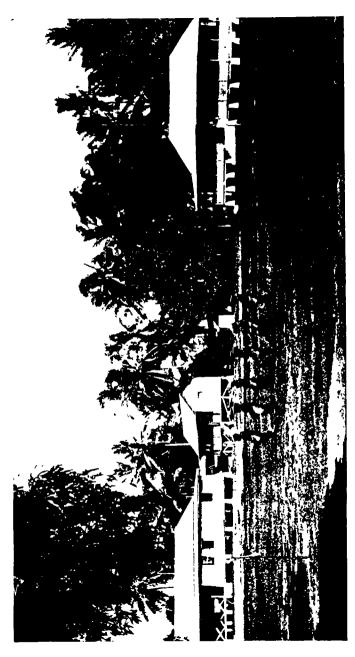
¹ A good road follows the trend of the coast-line for about 200 miles from Sigaba on Schlangen Harbour to the Markham River, but the absence of bridges over the rivers militates against its usefulness for administrative purposes. Another road leads from the right hank of the Markham to the Gira River, and there is a rough road leading inland up the Waria River.

^{*} See \$. 171.

establish an advanced position on the Sepik or to post a garrison at any point in the Territory away from the coast.

Apart from specially equipped expeditions, long distance patrols, and punitive incursions, the Germans had, for purposes both of settlement and administration, kept to the coastal belts of the Territory where shipping facilities were available. Consequently at the beginning of the military occupation much work remained to be done. In most parts the pacification of the Territory was, in fact, only in the incipient stages. extensive are the coast-lines that in thirty years the Germans had not advanced beyond domination of the littoral. work of pacification of a large territory, or even of a part of it, requires either an experienced personnel or one sufficiently permanent to be trained in accordance with an accepted policy. The circumstances of a provisional military occupation did not lend themselves to patient methodical work of this character, carried on year after year as part of an established and constructive system of government. Moreover the military administrator had not available the men, the equipment, or the facilities for systematic penetration of all these areas. For example, he was unable to provide the district officers with suitable craft for the large rivers of the New Guinea mainland; nor could he, with the few and often unserviceable ships at his disposal, definitely assign a vessel even to island stations where means of communication by sea was essential to the work of the administration.

Nevertheless at each outstation the policy was to carry on the administration within at least as wide an ambit as had been covered by the former German district officer, and, where practicable, and as opportunities arose, to extend it. In appearance and organisation the outstations bore a general resemblance to each other, although Madang and Kokopo, owing to their former status as capitals, and Käwieng, through its growth and importance under Buluminski, made a braver show than more remote or more recent settlements such as Lorengau or Morobe. Each station was, however, laid out according to a good plan. The buildings were well constructed, comfortably furnished, and thoroughly equipped for administrative purposes. The pivot of the station was



DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS AT KOROPO (HERBFRISHOHF)

411st II in Urmonal Official Photos Nov 13083-4 Taken in 1919

the bungalow used by the district officer as his official headquarters, and known to both European and native as the "house-paper." In addition, the larger stations had separate residences for the district and medical officers; a combined office and residence for the police-master; a hospital for Europeans and another for natives; and barracks for the native police. During the military occupation the district officer would perhaps share his residence with the assistant district officer (if there was one) or with the doctor; and quarters for troops were provided in bungalows which, under the German Government, had been used by civil officials as offices or residences. But the garrisons were not large. At the beginning of the Pethebridge administration, the Kokopo (Herbertshöhe) garrison—the largest after that of Rabaul—consisted of three officers (one medical), three N.C.O's, and fifty-nine men, together with thirty-one native police: at Käwieng there were three officers (one medical), two N.C.O's, and ten men, and, in addition, a white policemaster and sixty-one native police: at Madang there were three officers (two medical) and twenty-two men, and a native police force of eighty. Of the two medical officers, one used to visit Eitape and Morobe. At Lorengau the garrison consisted of two officers (one medical), two N.C.O's, ten men, and thirty-three native police. At Eitape there were one officer, ten N.C.O's and men, and ten native police; in this district there was also a garrison of one sergeant, four men, and thirty native police stationed sixty miles up the Sepik River at Angorum. Morobe was garrisoned by one officer, ten N.C.O's and men, and twenty-eight native police; while, at Kieta, there were three officers (one medical), three N.C.O's, twenty men, and a force of native police. 1015. Namatanai—which till then had been administered under the military occupation as part of the Käwieng district, and had been garrisoned by a white police-master and forty native police—was restored to its former status as headquarters of a separate district, and allotted was a garrison of one officer, ten N.C.O's and men, and a force of native police.

An important feature was introduced into the life of the garrisons when, during 1915 and 1916, wireless telegraphy stations were erected at the various district headquarters

(with the exception of Namatanai) and an officer-in-charge of wireless and his staff were added to the force. There were occasions when members of the garrison of an outstation, to whom the installation of wireless was not always an unmixed blessing-since it brought them under the continuous jurisdiction of headquarters at Rabaul-looked back with regret to the days of their isolation; but for military and administrative purposes the provision of rapid communication by wireless was of incalculable advantage. A perplexed district officer was thus enabled to submit a question and obtain a ruling on any urgent and troublesome matter. In the province of medical work this was particularly useful. Also by this means the arrivals and departures of the island ships and administrative vessels^a could be reported to Rabaul. organised intelligence system was subsequently developed, and reports of the movements of shipping and of the projected voyages of island vessels were forwarded to Melbourne for the information of the Naval Board.

Round the district officer, who also commanded the garrison, centred the administrative and military routine of the outstation—the allocation of duties, the welfare and discipline of his men, the recruiting and maintenance of the native police force, the upkeep of buildings, boats, and vehicles, the management of government plantations, and the care of horses and other live-stock belonging to the administration. addition he was responsible to the Administrator for all matters in his district relating to the Treasury (such as customs, imports, exports, licences, and taxes), works (such as roads and bridges), mails, shipping, lands, native affairs. and court procedure. With regard to all these he was required to forward regular returns to the Administrator and to keep full records, forms and instructions being supplied from Rabaul. Thus he was instructed that a diary was to be kept for purposes of record, in which all events of official interest were to be entered; that decisions or rulings should always be in writing; and that matters involving legal considerations were to be referred to headquarters with full particulars of local conditions and of any circumstances likely to be useful in enabling the Administrator to arrive at a

⁸ Only the Sumatra—and she at a later stage—was equipped with wireless

decision. Cases in which natives were concerned were to be heard by a responsible officer, who was to adjudicate in accordance with the evidence submitted, to judge fairly and impartially, and to send a report to headquarters. A sentence of death passed on a native was not to be carried out until it had been confirmed by the Administrator after reference of the case to the Judge of the Central Court.

To the natives, the district officer was known as the "Kiap," and in their eyes he was a very great personage, invested with the undefined but formidable powers, and the prestige, of "Guvment." The greater part of his work and the exercise of most of his functions had close relation to native customs, interests, and life. He could, for instance, command a luluai or kukerai to keep in order the roads running through government land, and had, in regard to native affairs, much-respected powers in adjudicating on the ownership of tambu and pigs, in deciding as to the validity of a marriage, and in decreeing a divorce. It has been ungallantly said that, in New Guinea, women and pigs are the bane of a native's existence, and that three-fourths of a district officer's time is taken up in settling questions of disputed ownership of one or the other.

The "Kiap," too, was the official who represented the might of "Guvment" to collect head-tax, a proceeding which went to the very heart of village life. As far as circumstances would permit, the former German procedure was continued under the British occupation. For any one year the tax was to be five, seven, or ten shillings, according to the Administrator's orders, and was payable by every male native above the age of twelve who was not in the employment or service of a white man. Boys under that age, and sick or infirm old men unfit for work, were exempt, as was also any native who had worked for a white man during a period of not less than ten months in that year. In the early years of the military occupation, district officers were instructed that payment of the tax was not to be insisted upon in villages or regions where no tax had been previously collected by the German Government, but, at the discretion of the district officer, it could be collected if the natives made no objection At a later stage of the administration, however, the areas in which the tax was levied were gradually extended in proportion to the penetration of government influence. The Government's policy was that the natives were to be treated with patience, tact, and fairness, and were to be made to understand that in return for the payment of the tax they had the right to receive at the hands of the administration protection, medical attention, medicine, and facilities for trading, and that, generally, they were to look to the Government to settle their grievances in a fair and impartial mannet.

Collection of the tax was entered upon after the rainy north-west monsoon had given place to the south-east season. The procedure customarily adopted was that the native police were sent out ahead to the various villages to warn the luluais or kukurais that the officer collecting the tax would arrive on a certain day at a designated place, and that every man liable to taxation must be then and there present with his money. If the man had no money, he was nevertheless to be there to inform the officer of that fact, and to explain why he could not pay the amount of the tax. The appointed place was generally selected with a view to several villages being dealt with at the same time. Then, so as to reach the various places by the day pre-arranged, the district officer or his deputy set out, generally accompanied by the police-master and always by a detachment of native police. He carried with him a census of the natives in each village in the part of the district he intended to visit. The information was based on the previous year's work, and showed the name of each village, the number of male natives therein, and the date when the last tax had been paid. Each year, also, the district officer compiled for statistical purposes particulars showing for each village the number of women and children and what births and deaths had occurred during the year. a native was unable to pay the tax, the district officer would either allow further time or forward particulars of the case to headquarters for advice; and, should the inhabitants of any village be unable to pay the tax in that year, the matter was reported to the Administrator, who might at his discretion remit the tax for the year in respect of that village. Otherwise the natives who could not pay the year's tax could

A DISIRICT OFFICER ON PATROL

Lieutenant H N Leach, District Officer of Namatanai, New Ireland, collecting head-tax.

To face p 304

Taken by T. 1 McMahon, Esq.

be called upon to work out the amount by repairing the roads in their neighbourhood; and in such case a week's labour by each native was considered equivalent to the payment of one shilling. To contribute to the revenue of the Government by paying head-tax was, in the expressive phraseology of the natives, to "throw away money along Kiap," and the unpalatable duty thus imposed impelled them either to trade or barter in order to earn enough to face the collector without misgiving, or else to enter into the service of the white settlers the missions, or the Government.

Apart from the economic pressure thus exerted, the collection of the tax gave the collector an exceptional oppor tunity of coming into direct personal touch with the natives of his district, and during these visits he made inquiries as to whether any serious sickness existed in the vicinity Should there be any, he forwarded particulars to the nearest medical officer so that remedial measures could be promptly taken. In the course of this circuit, the "Kiap" also dealt generally with administrative questions—particularly those affecting the natives—and held court on such matters as could be settled on the spot.

The information obtained in the course of patrols, in compiling the census, in collecting head-tax, and in "signing on" natives brought before him for inspection under the regulations applying to indentured labour, gave the district officer a good working knowledge of the conditions of the population, especially in such parts of his district as were visited by recruiters. He was thus enabled to recommend whether special measures of protection should be adopted in the interests of the tribes. As a consequence, certain parts of the Territory were from time to time proclaimed by the Administrator as areas within which recruiting was prohibited for a specified period. For instance, New Ireland had, ever since the old "black-birding" days, been a favourite ground for recruiters, owing to the good physique, industry, and intelligence of the natives—qualities which rendered them eminently desirable as labourers or servants. The result was that marriageable young men and women had been taken away from their villages in considerable numbers over a long series of years, and the population had seriously decreased.

In March, 1915, Captain G. O. Manning,4 then district officer for the whole of New Ireland (Namatanai being for the time a sub-district of Käwieng) reported—"There is no doubt that the natives of this Island are fast dying out, and it is imperative that every possible step be taken to lessen the causes of the depopulation. I have consulted settlers and missionaries and have read official correspondence upon the subject, and I have just returned from a visit to Namatanai, on the return journey crossing the island twice and visiting practically all the plantations and principal villages on the He then referred to the vital statistics revealed by the census, and quoted a memorandum from the former German district officer to the effect that nearly everywhere the female population included in the census was much less than the male. polyandry and a low birth-rate being the sequel; and that such women as were recruited in their youth unmarried, and had returned after some years to their original domicile, were disdained by the male population and seldom sought in marriage. Manning pointed out that the German Government had, after very careful investigation, considered the situation very grave, prohibited the recruiting of married women unless their husbands were recruited at the same time and absolutely forbidden the recruiting of unmarried girls except where they were required as servants in a house presided over by a European woman. In consequence of Manning's recommendation, the Administrator issued an order declaring that this prohibition was still in force Subsequently, in October, 1915, a proclamation was issued placing a ban upon any recruiting—except with the written consent of the Administrator - in New Ireland. Hanover, and the adjacent islands. This prohibition was renewed from time to time during the military occupation. but did not extend to the recruiting of natives for employment in their own or any other part of New Ireland or the coastal islands.

In the same year, in consequence of the unrest caused by the murder of a white man and the sending of an expedition to punish the murderers, part of the east coast and hinterland of New Britain was declared a prohibited area for a period of three months, in order to allow the natives to settle down

⁴ Accidentally killed at Myom, New Ireland, 18 June, 1915.

again before coming into further contact with the whites. Again, in October, 1916, as a sequel to serious raids on riparian tribes by unscrupulous recruiters, the Markham River, for fifty miles from the sea, was declared to be a prohibited area for a period of six months. Other localities were protected from time to time, and it was the duty of a district officer to see that none of the natives who were signed on before him had been recruited from a prohibited area.

Occasionally, in the course of patrols, district officers or police-masters had a brush with the natives; but unless there were special circumstances, amounting to justification on the ground either of self-defence, or of enforcing in the face of open defiance the authority of the administration, headquarters at Rabaul had a decided tendency to regard with disapproval reports of such conflicts, particularly when an encounter led to loss of life on either side. In general it was expected of a district officer that he should be able to manage the affairs of his district without becoming involved in affrays; but it was of course recognised that happenings of the kind were at times unavoidable. Similarly, punitive expeditions were not favoured by the military administration: but now and again, when an aggressive tribe raided peaceable natives who were under the control and protection of the Government, or when the safety of settlers was threatened or a white man had been murdered by natives, it was deemed advisable to send an expedition to punish the offenders and restore order. Such expeditions were either entrusted to the district officer nearest to the proposed base of operations, or if (as was generally the case) greater facilities and better means of transport existed at headquarters, were despatched direct from Rabaul.

Since 1912 certain inland tribes in the north-east of Bougainville had been very troublesome to the peaceable natives of the sea-coast and adjacent islands, who were friendly to white settlers and traders. Native labourers who had wandered into the bush from Soraken plantation (on the north-east extremity of Bougainville) had been captured, killed, and eaten; and there had been frequent raids in which native women had been taken and men killed. In 1913 the German Bezirksamt at Kieta had sent a punitive expedition against these tribes, which were under the domination of an

influential cannibal chief named Bowu. During 1914 and 1915 there occurred further raids on the coastal natives, and in September of the latter year the life of the overseer of Soraken plantation, who had gone to the village of Kiki to bring back runaway natives, was twice threatened by the kukurai Lapapiri, who boasted that he would come down to Soraken, kill all the white people and labourers, and ruin the plantation, and that, if the "Kiap" and a police force came to attack him, they would all be killed and eaten by his people.

In these circumstances the Administrator, in October, 1915, instructed Captain H. Ogilvy⁵ (then Officer-in-Charge of Native Affairs at Rabaul, and previously district officer at Kieta), to proceed with a party of native police to north-east Bougainville, capture or punish the chiefs, and assert the authority of the Government. Accordingly on 15th October, 1015, Ogilvy with a party consisting of Police-Master Jenkins,6 Colour-Sergeant Dear, and sixty non-commissioned officers and men of the native police, with Lieutenant Thompson⁸ and Private Read attached, left Rabaul in the Siar for Bougainville. He was accompanied by J. W. Campbell,9 the manager of Soraken plantation. On arrival at that place Ogilvy sent out for guides and examined a number of witnesses as to Bowu's character and the reputation both of his village, Kaumumu, and of Kiki, where the other hostile chiefs lived. In his official report Ogilvy stated: "On top of what I knew before, whilst at Kieta, I found ample evidence to justify me in taking very strong measures with Bowu, but the Kiki affair seemed to me to be more in the nature of an old man's affair; that is to say it was only the old chiefs and old people who were causing trouble."

He therefore decided to take Bowu's village first. were, he found, two roads, one which the German expedition had used two years before and which ran straight to the

⁸ Maj. H. L. S. Balfour Ogilvy, M.B.E., D.C.M. Auctioneer; of Renniark, S Aust.; b. Castleton, Berehaven, Co. Cork, Ireland, 3 Apr., 1876.

⁶ Lieut. A. W. Jenkins, Hospital attendant; of Sydney; b. Birmingham, Eng.,

May, 1884.

¹ Sqdn. Sgt. Maj. J. T. Dear, 14th L.H. Regt., A.I.F. Labourer; of Melbourne; b. Geelong, Vic., Oct., 1880.

² Lieut, W. E. Thompson, 4th Fld. Coy. Engrs., A.I.F. Municipal engineer and land surveyor; of Melbourne; b. Inglewood, Vic., 20 Sept., 1883.

[•] He soon afterwards returned to Australia and enlisted in the A.I.F. (No. 3046, Pte. J. W. Campbell, M.M., 32nd Bn., A.I.F. Plantation manager; of Adelaide; b. Ballarat, Vic., Oct., 1876.)

KIETA, BOUGAINVILLE, GERMAN SOLOMON ISLANDS, SHOWING THE DISTRICT OFFICIR'S RESIDENCE AND A REACH OF THE HARBOUR

village, and another, which took a wide circle and came in on the other side of the place. Although it was much longer and rougher, he decided to approach the village by that route. "We started off," he reported, "at II o'clock, Mr. Campbell accompanying us. The night was extraordinarily dark, and the road very bad. Travelling all night we arrived at the village at 6 a m. on the 19th. I had intended to surround the place, if possible, and have no shooting; but from the information obtained by a boy, who once belonged to the village, I found that it would be impossible to capture anyone. I therefore told the police to rush the village and shoot until my whistle blew.

"This was done, with the result that the chief Bowu was killed and two others. The police were very good indeed at ceasing fire, which occurred almost immediately after the village was occupied. The chief Bowu was recognised by fully twenty men of my party (bearers whom Mr. Campbell had kindly lent me). To make doubly sure, I cut off the head and showed it to some twenty or thirty others, including three friendly chiefs. They all recognised it as that of the man Bowu, and were exceedingly pleased to know that he was dead.

"This man had had a tremendous influence over the natives in his district, which is a very wide one, and I am certain that his death will quieten the country for a considerable time."

Turning back, the party reached the coast again before noon, and that same night set out for the village Kiki. "I decided," reported Ogilvy, "to get within striking distance of this place in the early morning, so marched on until 2.30 a.m. on the 20th, and then camped until 4 a.m., when we marched on the village. There were some hundreds of natives here who saw us before we got to the village, but at the same time the rush on the village itself was a complete surprise. Three chiefs were captured, all of whom showed decided fight. Police-Master Jenkins, after having a stone whizz past his head, had to grapple with and throw a man who turned out to be the absolute chief Lapapiri, who even whilst on the ground still clung to his spears and showed fight. Another man threatened him with a tomahawk, and

had a sheaf of arrows and a bow, and would no doubt have injured some of us had I not instructed the police-master to have him shot. This was the only casualty in the village. We had to tie the captured men up. They shouted continually to their followers, and our interpreter stated that they were telling them to attack us. We were completely surrounded and the natives, not knowing the range of our muskets, were very cheeky. However, after a time I sent out the interpreter with the police, who shouted out that the fight was finished, and about half-an-hour afterwards some seven or eight boys came in voluntarily. These were young men, and of very fair physique, and were quite prepared to be friendly.

"On all sides we heard tales of cannibalism in this place, but two of the young men examined stated that it was only the old men who were cannibals. On account of the friendly attitude of all but the three chiefs, I decided not to burn the village, and we left at 7 a.m. for the coast, and although there was a tremendous noise all around us, we were not molested.

"We arrived back on the coast at 11 a.m., completing a march of thirteen hours with one-and-half hours' rest. This on top of the night before, when we marched thirteen hours with no rest except to dress the line, completely knocked up three of the boys, one of whom had to be carried in on a stretcher.

"At the village of Kiki the police showed wonderful restraint, in that, although bows were drawn and tomahawks brandished, they did not shoot, but captured natives in the surrounding bush who were armed with bows and arrows."

Next morning, at Soraken, Ogilvy held a court: two of the three captured chiefs admitted having tried to kill the overseer of Soraken plantation. They were deported from the district, one for a term of five years, the other for a term of two years. No evidence could be found against the third chief, and he was accordingly released.

Patrols and expeditions—in the course of which brushes occurred with the natives—were described by Lieutenant W. Ogilvy, district officer at Madang and brother of Captain H. Ogilvy, in an official report of 7th September, 1915. On July 15th a missionary at Potsdam Harbour reported that the natives of Aragoen had attacked those of Darmoo, and that

in the fighting four had been killed and six wounded. district officer was also informed that the Aragoen natives had defied the authority of the administration, asserting that "there was no Government and they would do as they The police-master, Sergeant Walker, 10 was in conliked." sequence of these reports instructed by Ogilvy to patrol this section of the district with a force of twenty-five native constabulary. As they approached Mariea, a village not far from Aragoen, they were attacked by advance-guards of natives armed with spears. After a slight resistance the village was occupied and burned. The patrol then pushed on to Aragoen, when an attack in some force developed. natives had lined a ridge, which they held, their flanks being strongly protected. The position was, however, at once stormed and taken, three natives being killed and several wounded. As soon as the police had occupied this position. another body of natives cut off the line of retreat. They were thrust back, but for some time the situation of the patrol appears to have been somewhat critical. Owing, however, to the steadiness of the police, who were reported to have been under complete command and good fire control, the party with The attacking force was estimated as drew without loss. having been between fifty and sixty, and with those who attacked in the rear it may have numbered 100; the natives were all armed with spears and shields.

In the following month the natives of Dampier Island attacked a German planter, who reported at Madang in a severely wounded condition. In consequence of this, Ogilvy, with a party consisting of Sergeant Walker and forty native police, left Madang on 30th August, 1915, "for the purpose of clearing up disturbances existing amongst the wild tribes who inhabit the mountains and hinterland of Dampier." On landing on the island he was met by about 200 friendly natives, armed with spears, who offered their services, of which, as the country was difficult and unfamiliar, he decided to avail himself. The force was divided into two detachments, with a view to operating from two distinct points, the object being to try and envelope the hostile natives, who were reported to

¹⁰ Sgt. J. Walker, A.N & M.E.F. Miner, b. Linlithgow, Scotland, June, 1882.

be 150 strong and in positions at or near Gronel, a cluster of villages half-way up the mountain-side. Early the next morning the two detachments struck inland, sweeping the country in a half-moon formation, great care being exercised in the advance. Rain fell in torrents, streaming down the mountains, and as the parties approached Gronel the conditions were so bad that it was difficult to see through the downpour. As the advance-guard made its way towards the villages, Ogilvy noticed, close at hand in the long grass, armed natives creeping up on his flank: he opened fire with his revolver, and the hostile party at once broke and fled. Upon the flank being thus cleared, the opposing positions were seized and held by the friendlies. Shortly afterwards friendly natives arrived from the coast and reported that wild natives were between the party and the sea, and that the line of retirement had been cut off. This contingency had, however, been provided for during the advance inland, pickets having been left to keep the way clear. Thus Ogilvy met with no opposition on his march back to the coast.

The other party, under Walker, in its advance inland had encountered a more stubborn resistance, two spears very narrowly missing its commander. On arriving at his objective, Walker had swung his police and friendlies to the right, thus forcing the natives to fight or run. They had fled, leaving one of their number killed. Walker subsequently reported: "I visited many villages on Dampier, in and around the districts occupied by us on August 30th and 31st. On two occasions the bush Kanakas attacked me with spears. In spite of my endeavours to pacify them, I was forced to open fire. Two Kanakas were killed in these attacks."

In concluding his report Ogilvy said: "I wish to remark that not one of the tribes engaged by us had ever before been visited by Government officials. Even the late Government had never been to these villages. Consequently the boys were quite wild and are cannibals. . . . It is regretted that firearms had to be used, but under the circumstances this could not be avoided."

The district officers of the Morobe and Madang districts had another difficult task in attempting to prevent German inhabitants from smuggling uncensored letters into Dutch

territory just beyond the border. The vessels by which such letters could be carried were the schooners which, it was suspected, engaged in the illegal traffic of carrying birds-ofparadise plumes to the nearest Dutch port. The hunting of birds of paradise was, at this time, not in itself illegal in the captured territory, although for obvious reasons it was necessary for the military administration to control and regulate the possession of firearms by civilians. revolver, or pistol licence was issued only to persons who were approved by the senior military officer in the district, and who resided in localities where danger was apprehended from the natives. A shot-gun licence was granted only to white men There might be named in it certain native employees who would be permitted to shoot birds or animals for food, and for whose conduct their white employer would be held responsible. A fee of twenty-five shillings had to be paid for a rifle licence, ten shillings for each revolver or automatic pistol, fifteen for a single-barrelled shot-gun, and twenty-five for a double-barrelled shot-gun. The licences held good for one year, and application for renewal had to be made annually to the district officer. Many a planter and trader doubtless grumbled at the fees, but not for a moment would he have foregone his rifle and shot-gun, and therefore he paid tribute with unfailing regularity.

Hunters of birds of paradise constituted, in the district community, a class whose enterprise and daring tasked the vigilance of the administration officials. The gorgeously plumed birds are to be found in immense numbers amid the mountain ranges and densely wooded foot-hills of the mainland, and especially in the interior of the Eitape district towards the Dutch border. The plumage of a single bird of paradise is known to have been worth from five to ten pounds in the European and South American markets. The German law in force in the Protectorate permitted the shooting or hunting of these birds by persons who had been granted by the Government a special licence for that purpose. inclusive yearly fee of 160 marks conferred upon the licensee the right to use aboriginal natives as hunters. No limit was imposed as to the number of birds that could be shot or taken, but a licensee must, if requested to do so, submit a

statement showing the method used in hunting and how many birds he had obtained within a certain period. He would either sell the plumage in the Territory or export it to the oversea markets, there being imposed an export duty of twenty marks for the feathers of each bird. By such hunting some men were able to earn enough to establish coconut plantations and to maintain themselves for the nine or ten vears that must elapse before the palms could produce a return. Importation of the plumage of birds of paradise into Australia had been prohibited by a proclamation issued under the Commonwealth Customs Act in 1913; but so far as the Protectorate was concerned there was no restriction on their being exported to other countries. At the beginning of the military occupation there were in force a number of licences and, in addition, a large quantity of feathers was stored or ready for export. Existing practice and privileges were not interfered with; but, as birds of paradise were protected in the adjacent territory of Papua, it was fairly clear that the Commonwealth Government's policy would be to discourage and eventually to prohibit the trade. On the 14th of August, 1015, the Administrator issued an order requiring all persons in possession of the plumage of more than three birds of paradise to declare and register the same. In 1921 the export of birds of paradise from the Territory was absolutely prohibited.

It was always difficult to exercise an effective control over the hunters. The native custom of shooting or trapping these birds for food could not be interfered with. Moreover a white man might venture into that rugged forest-clad country ostensibly for the legitimate purpose of recruiting natives; and, when once in the fastnesses of the interior, he could shoot birds of paradise and smuggle them away with almost certain impunity. The proximity of the Dutch territory, which could be reached either by means of native tracks from the Eitape hinterland or along the coast, either by land or sea, to Humboldt Bay, afforded a constant temptation. The Government station of Eitape is eighty miles from Hollandia, the small Dutch settlement in Humboldt Bay just beyond the boundary, and the long strip of coast was not easy to patrol. It was suspected by the authorities that island schooners—which,

according to the conditions of their sailing permits, were not legally permitted to pass beyond the territorial limits of the colony—found not infrequent opportunities for making brief but lucrative visits to Humboldt Bay. It is very probable that large numbers of birds of paradise were smuggled out of the country in this way, and that, in addition, the overland tracks were used for the same purpose. It also seems very likely that hunters from the Morobe and Madang districts came into the Eitape country to dispose of their superb spoils. In attempting to control this illicit traffic, as in endeavouring to prevent evasions of the censorship of letters, the district officer was heavily handicapped by the large stretches of territory, the long coast-lines, the smallness of his garrison, and the lack of fast administrative craft for patrol or pursuit

CHAPTER XIX

GARRISON LIFE

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to trace the evolution of the military administration, and to describe the way in which government was carried on amid conditions that were both unstable and also novel to the members of the expeditionary force. After the first days of the occupation the war never actively affected New Guinea: yet its effects on the Territory, though indirect, were profound, colouring and dominating the main principles of policy and the general conduct of affairs. Moreover in a strangely penetrating way the war influenced the mental outlook of everyone on service in the Protectorate. During the war New Guinea was a still lagoon, with the surf beating outside; but it would be a mistake to imagine that the lagoon was never troubled by the tumult The unrest of war was in the air: no strangeness of environment and no scenic charm or magnificence could allay it. The very tranquillity of visible things—the great mountains. the untraversed forests, the shimmering coral islands—and the very remoteness from the theatre of war increased the irksomeness of days, weeks, and months passed in isolation from the main currents of events. Men longed for news of what was happening on the other side of the world, and chafed because they were debarred from active participation in the war. To serve with an expeditionary force which had become an occupying force; to submit to the conditions of a military establishment, the restraints of discipline, and the monotony of garrison routine; to relinquish normal civilian life and freedom, and yet to lack the excitement, the adventure, and the "crowded hour" of the fighting zone-all this meant, week by week and month by month, the enduring of conditions which levied a continuous toll on the good sense and good spirits of most men. It was easy to drift, to flag, to lose enthusiasm and even interest in a state of things which had no immediate and compelling objective except the holding of a country for an indefinite number of years while others were in the firing-line, doing the work that mattered. This feeling

THE DISTRICT OFFICER'S RESIDENCE AT LORENGAU, MANUS ISLAND

was undoubtedly intensified by the circumstance that members of the Tropical Force were cut off from connection with the main theatres of war, and that meanwhile they were unable, except at long intervals, to obtain detailed tidings of the progress of the life-and-death struggle on the Western Front. Leave to visit their homes in Australia, though periodically granted, was comparatively rare. In New Guinea there were no cables and no newspapers; often there of six weeks between one periods mail and the next; sometimes there was an interval of teneven of twelve-weeks when the regular communications were interrupted and the Territory was isolated from steamship connection with the Commonwealth. At the beginning of the occupation unsatisfying scraps of information were intercepted by wireless; later on arrangements were made with the Defence Department for the transmission twice a week of a radiogram giving a résumé of the more important war news from the front and of the main incidents in Australia. In this way the fortunes of political parties, the progress of recruiting, the despatch of further contingents to France, the deeds of the A.I.F., and even the winners of the Sydney and Melbourne Cups, were made known to the troops in New Guinea.

The skill and knowledge of human nature shown by the compiler of this wireless bulletin in his choice and range of subject-matter, and in the just proportion of terse phraseology allotted to each item of news, invariably excited an admiration as keen as the thankfulness with which the communiqué was After the Administrator had censored the message -in case it should contain information which he did not deem advisable to publish to the German residents—a transcript was posted at Administration Headquarters, copies being forwarded to each department. It was eagerly read, copied, and distributed. Island schooners or the administration steamers carried the text of it to the outstations, some of which, being equipped with wireless, had already intercepted Versions of it in a more or less it in transmission. accurate form, in German, French, Japanese, Chinese, and Malav. found their way into all corners of the Territory. Long-bearded German missionaries passed furtive annotated transcripts from one mission station to another. The German firms in Rabaul despatched copies to planters who were their customers, and to their compatriots employed in the plantations.

Extraordinary interest was taken by the German colonists in the war news, despite the fact that they were inclined to regard the official wireless messages as Australian propaganda While, therefore, they were ready to give credence to news which was unfavourable to the Allied cause, they were sceptical about reports of German reverses. The Japanese and the Chinese were pro-British, and from mysterious sources of information believed that the Allies would win the war. The Malays, an inconsiderable element in the country, adopted a neutral attitude. The natives, who understood vaguely that British and Germans were fighting in some country which was not New Guinea, must have been sorely puzzled about the whole business.

Administration officials and the members of the garrisons naturally gave, in their "good fellow talk" to the police boys, the house-servants, the government labourers, and other natives generally, a very emphatic impression that the British were winning "the fight" and would never go away from New Guinea. On the other hand, it was to the material interest of the German companies and planters, with large numbers of native employees, to uphold the prestige of the German nation in their eyes; and in some cases it is known, and in many others probable, that attempts were made to influence the natives by statements that Germany would win the war and that the Territory would be again under German government. The main objective was generally that of retaining authority and discipline over the natives for commercial purposes rather than of encouraging overt disaffection towards the military administration. But there is no doubt that the war-news in a perverted form was used subtly as political propaganda among the natives. It is, however, only fair to the merchants and planters to state that intrigues of this kind were, for the most part, the work of certain German missionaries, who behind the shield of their religious organisation used their influence with the natives for political ends. Headquarters was continually receiving reports that German

missionaries and settlers were assuring the natives that Germany would again assume political authority in New Guinea. Many of these reports were on investigation found to be either baseless or too vague for further action to be taken in respect of them; but in others, where the allegations appeared to constitute a prima facie case, a prosecution was instituted for an offence against a War Precautions Order prohibiting statements of that character as likely to cause disaffection. The judgment delivered in a case of this kind tried in the Central Court at Rabaul in June, 1916, was published by the Administrator in the Government Gazette "for the information and warning of all residents of the Colony of German New Guinea." As the judgment defines the relations between British and German on this point, a portion of it may be quoted here. The accused, a German planter, had admitted using to his native labourers words to the effect that if or when the Germans came back the boys would be made to "savee plenty"—that is, would be punished severely. With regard to this statement the Judge said:-"The effect and significance of this have to be considered in relation to the conditions at present prevailing in this Colony. It has to be remembered that this Colony is at present under British Military Occupation, and that the administration of the Government by English instead of Germans is to the mind of the native a striking fact. There is here a basis for instituting comparisons—comparisons which even a native can make and appraise. The duty of Germans who are in a position of authority over natives is therefore obvious in so delicate a political situation. That duty is to take extreme precautions to avoid doing or saying anything that touches or affects the political situation or the control of the natives. Furthermore, in a country like this the lives of the settlers in outlying districts are dependent on the native mind being impressed with the idea and strength of settled and constituted authority, so that any notion of questioning such authority will never arise in that mind. Looking at the statements made by the accused, it seems to me that their effect is to throw some stigma of contempt upon the administration of affairs by the British in comparison with the German standard

hitherto prevailing. I think that such words as the accused admits having used convey to the native mind the impression that the English method of controlling natives is lax and weak as compared with what the German method has been and will I think therefore that such statements tend to cause unrest and to disturb and unsettle the native mind, and that in the present circumstances a German who is an employer of labour and who is out of the immediate ken of the authorities is, in uttering such false statements, abusing his position and the privileges permitted to him. The accused at the advent of the British Military Occupation took the oath of neutrality, by which he solemnly bound himself not to do anything detrimental to the interests of the British Administration. In return for his having entered into this solemn obligation, he has been left in the enjoyment of, and has been protected in, the possession of his property. I think that in importing political and racial matters into his statements to the natives he has not acted in accordance with his duty, and it seems to me that his conduct has been such as to be likely to cause disaffection."

Such was the viewpoint of the administration with regard to a matter which was the chief cause of any feelings of distrust towards the German colonists. The territory was a country of great distances, with scattered garrisons and a comparatively large native population. If the latter should become unsettled, or stirred to revolt, through being led to believe that the British administration was unstable and weak and could be overturned by the Germans, the situation would have been an ugly one, and the task of carrying on the government of the country would have been rendered hazardous, if not impossible, without large reinforcements of troops. The notion of German secret intrigue among the natives was, therefore, always a spectre dancing in and out of the grim forests. It particularly affected district officers charged with the control of large administrative areas in the outlying portions of the Territory. Having regard, however, to the fact that most of the Germans in those remoter parts had valuable property interests to protect, and that therefore they could have gained nothing, but would probably have lost everything, by encouraging a native rising, the



RABAUL

The road from the wharf to Namanula Hill, showing the shade trees (poinciana roga).

Taken by I J McMahon, Esq.

spectre was not so menacing as it appeared to be. The German's main interest was commercial rather than political.

Nevertheless there were occasions when the nerves of the administrative officials grew "jumpy"; something—possibly psychological reflex of war-fostered racial distrustinduced an ineradicable suspicion of German actions which might have been, and in many instances undoubtedly were. without military or political significance. A light suddenly winking out of the darkness and answered by flashes from another vantage-point might mean that a lonely missionary or planter was carrying on a sociable and innocent conversation with his nearest neighbour; on the other hand, if the message was being transmitted in a code not recognisable as Morse, it might contain tidings of considerable interest to the military administration. German missionaries moving about country after midnight, and returning to their stations before daylight, might be enjoying a harmless social evening or be engaged in the duties of their office: they might, however, be passing on uncensored communications, or arranging for the spread of anti-British propaganda. In that environment it was easy to arrive at unfair conclusions; it was equally easy to become sceptical about hostile designs. Senior officers, to whose lot it fell to analyse and appraise reports of this kind and to take the responsibility of advising what action should be taken, found it at times difficult to distinguish evidence from rumour, or to separate elements of military or political importance from the somewhat sensational garb in which a praiseworthy zeal and patriotism might dress a report of German activities. For the prestige of the military administration it was undesirable that anything in the nature of panic measures should be resorted to: responsible officers must therefore maintain an open mind and resist a tendency to prejudge the conduct of enemy nationals. At the same time it was essential to remember that the Territory was thinly held by the occupying force, and that an ugly situation might develop at any moment.

The strain of the responsibility of maintaining the military occupation in the face of what appeared a menacing situation is well illustrated by an episode during the term of

Lieutenant-Colonel Toll, who in July, 1915, was administering the Government while Pethebridge was absent official visit to Australia. The incident, indeed, became known in the Territory as "the second war." On the 22nd of July, 1015. Toll received from the Defence Department a radiogram in code embodying a report that a vessel named the Maverick1 had slipped out of San Francisco with half-amillion rifles and two million rounds of ammunition: her destination was supposed to be the Dutch East Indies, and she might be contemplating a descent upon the occupied German possessions in the Pacific. The Navy Office was taking measures to deal with the situation. Toll, his mind full of distrust of German missionaries and colonists, and influenced by vague and uninvestigated reports of gunrunning, signalling, and evasion of censorship, took an extremely grave view of the situation. He held the opinion -which in the light of all the information now available appears to have been erroneous—that Germans in New Guinea were acting in concert with Germans outside the colony to organise an armed expedition for the overthrow of the military administration. On July 30th he reported to the Minister for Defence: "For a considerable time prior to the date of your communication evidence has been accumulating from all parts of the Possessions that the German inhabitants of the Colony still entertain some hope or design of attempting to oust the present British military occupation" He instanced (a) the Moewe incident, and (b) his suspicions about the German missionaries.

In July, 1915, the motor-schooner Moewe had put in at Rabaul on a voyage from Maron in the Hermits, the head-quarters of the Wahlen Company, which owned the schooner In accordance with the usual procedure she was searched on her arrival in Simpson Harbour by the Customs officials; in her hold, hidden away under old sails and other gear, were found two cases of bayonets (111 weapons in all) of a sword-pattern with a spring haft. These had not been included by the master of the schooner in his Customs declaration. He was arrested and charged with being in unlawful possession of arms not declared to the military authorities, and the schooner was detained. A field general court-martial found

¹ See Vol IX. ch. vis. The report that the Maverick carried arms and ammunition was incorrect.

the master guilty of being in unlawful possession of arms. but, in sentencing him to twelve months' imprisonment, made a strong recommendation to mercy, because "although the prisoner is found guilty of having bayonets in his possession. it does not consider that he concealed them, nor did he have them in his possession with any guilty intent whatever, but for the purpose of trade with the natives, such being a common custom in this country." As officer commanding the force. Toll confirmed the finding and sentence as they stood, but in forwarding the proceedings of the court-martial to Melbourne for consideration he stated: "In the evidence brought out during trial it was claimed that the sale and use of these bayonets was a common custom. The Court accepted these statements of the accused, but from inquiries made from old residents and recruiters I can find no evidence to bear this out, except in a few cases where the old triangular bayonets with socket only were sold to chiefs." In September, 1915, the case was further investigated, this time by the Judge sitting as a special court of inquiry to decide whether the Moewe should be confiscated. This court found that the bayonets were placed on board without hostile intent on the part of the owners, and recommended that, without prejudice to the rights of the Administrator, the vessel should be chartered by the administration to the owners during good behaviour. At the time of her seizure the facts admittedly looked black against the Moewe, and Toll's suspicions are comprehensible. Nevertheless, seeing that only about fifteen Germans were at the time in the Hermit group, it is not clear —unless he supposed that the intention was to arm the natives—what purpose he conceived likely to be served by a gun-running expedition to those islands.

With regard to the missions, Toll wrote: "With great reluctance and with every sincere desire to respect and protect religious societies, I am forced to the conclusion that the mission stations—the members of which are apparently all strong German sympathisers and active protagonists—have been used as the chief media for secretly communicating information relating to the British administration, forces, resources, &c., and also relating to the plans and projects for invasion and rebellion made by Germans both inside and outside the Colony. In the face of convincing proof I can no

longer hesitate to accept and act upon the fact of the complicity of the missions in these hostile designs. Not only have they abused the indulgences allowed them as missions by evading the censorship, but they have deliberately concealed large stores of arms while protesting that they had surrendered everything they had of this nature, and have also conducted a system of signals by wireless, telephone, and lamps to various points of vantage along the coast. In proof of this they have, on many occasions, been detected in the act of signalling, although their messages, being in secret code and not in Morse, could not be read by my signallers. Wireless apparatus and wires and signal-lamps have been found on their premises, and there is reason to believe that they availed themselves of the services of their native pupils by a system of signalling by means of native fires. . . . have also, in unguarded moments, expressed to members of my force disloyal and hostile sentiments and veiled threats that some day another flag will be found flying over this Colony." He referred also to the large staffs employed by the German companies, and recommended "in order to curtail the possibilities of so many enemy effectives being available in case of an invasion, that the majority of the young clerks on the staff of these firms be sent out of the country." Planters, he added, scattered all over the Colony, owned motor-schooners or cutters, by means of which they could communicate with each other without the knowledge of the authorities; from correspondence which had from time to time been seized, it was clear that these vessels carried German war news and disseminated secret information among the islands. By this medium, too, information and correspondence had come in from the Dutch territory through Humboldt Bay, and he had reason to believe that this had been the main channel through which a great deal of war news and secret correspondence had leaked. Toll summed up thus-

"With all these facts in my mind, and having regard to the comparatively small garrisons at my disposal for defensive purposes, I decided upon receipt of your radiogram that, as the situation bore some indications of becoming serious, it was advisable to intern all the Germans at Rabaul and Herbertshöhe and await



THE MILITARY CHMITTERY AT RABAUL



A bungalow at the Toma sanitorium wrecked by farthquakly ist January, 1910



THE POST OFFICE AT KOKOPO (HIRBERTSHOHI)

This was originally the District Office, where Colonel Holmes and Dr. Haber conferred and where the terms of capitulation were signed.

To face \$ 324

developments. My chief reason for taking this step was that I was particularly anxious that the positions I had selected for machine-guns and trenches should be kept secret. This secrecy would have been impossible to maintain with the German residents at large. Another reason was that I suspected the Germans had means of arming themselves, and in this suspicion subsequent events have proved that I was justified.

"Accordingly I gave instructions for accommodation to be prepared for interning the German residents, and by daylight of the morning following receipt of your wire (which arrived at midnight on the 22nd instant) sixty Germans were interned in Rabaul and twenty-seven in Herbertshöhe. Later on the numbers were brought up to ninety-three in Rabaul and thirty-three in Herbertshöhe; nearly all these are able-bodied trained soldiers in their prime, and their number amounts to more than a third of the aggregate of my Rabaul and Herbertshöhe garrisons, inclusive of non-combatants The women were interned in separate quarters, and special care was taken to give them comfortable and safe accommodation. The Germans have been well treated and well fed, and have admitted this in writing. It was not desired to place any restrictions or hardships upon the German residents beyond what was consonant with the situation and necessary military precautions, and as soon as possible I released the managers of the leading firms together with their accountants, so that the businesses might be carried on. . . On the 23rd instant, after careful consideration both of the military and legal aspects, I decided to issue a proclamation establishing martial law, as I considered it would be advisable to have the powers thereby conferred, in order to cope in an adequate manner with any possibilities that might arise The Proclamation established a state of martial law as from 6 o'clock of the evening of the 23rd instant, and. following upon this, an order was issued calling upon all inhabitants of the Colony to declare and disclose all arms. ammunition, telephones, signalling apparatus, &c. result was such as to completely justify the decision to

establish martial law, as nearly a hundred declarations were made, disclosing large stocks of arms, ammunition, explosives, &c., which had been carefully concealed and would never otherwise have come to our knowledge, and which would have constituted a highly dangerous element in the event of invasion and hostilities."

As a further precautionary measure, Toll detained at their stations under surveillance all missionaries near Rabaul and Kokopo in regard to whose conduct and intentions he was suspicious; he also temporarily confiscated all horses and vehicles in those towns and the surrounding areas, and, in addition, held up all motor and sailing vessels and the Administration's steamers. He also arranged with Commander Jackson, whom he had recalled to Rabaul by wireless from a cruise along the New Guinea coast, that the *Una* should leave at daylight on July 27th on a patrolling expedition to New Ireland,² keeping a sharp look out for any vessels which were open to suspicion. Germans held that this temporary internment was a breach of Holmes's Proclamation of 12th September, 1914, and of the terms of capitulation.

Nothing more was heard of the Maverick, and Pethebridge, when he returned on August 6th, decided, after reference to Defence Headquarters, that the military situation had not developed in such a way as to justify the continued internment of Germans against whom no adverse reports had been made. Twenty-one Germans whose records were deemed to be unsatisfactory were on August 11th deported to Australia for internment there; the others were allowed to return to their ordinary vocations, and normal relations were restored.

Toll had taken a safe course and one which—for a soldier in his responsible position, holding the views he did—was probably right; he was officially informed on 23rd August, 1915, that in the circumstances the Minister considered his actions in this matter to have been thoroughly justified. There is no doubt, however, that he was misled by indefinite and exaggerated rumours, and that his despatch conveys a wrong

² On arrival of the *Una* at Kawieng the Germans there and in the neighbourhood were also interned.

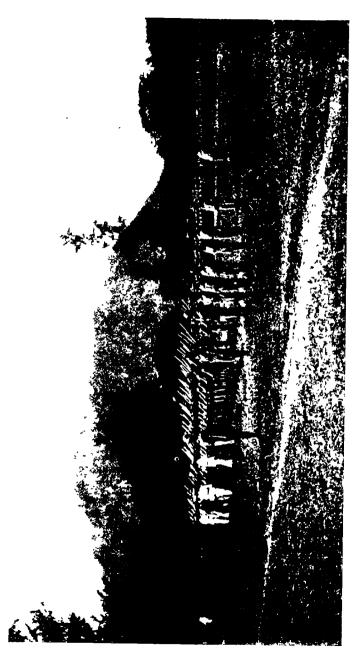
impression of the actual position. There is no evidence that a plot was ever conceived, and it is improbable that any such design was even entertained. German nationals recognised sensibly and clearly that their personal conditions and privileges were as favourable, and their property and interests were as secure, under the terms of capitulation and the military occupation as could reasonably be looked for during the existence of a state of war. They realized also that the fate of the Colony would be dictated in Europe as an outcome of the arbitrament of the world war, and that an insurrection in the Territory, even if temporarily successful, would not be conclusive, whereas an unsuccessful rising meant swift and sure punishment and the ruin of their fortunes.

Toll's report that the missions had "deliberately concealed large stores of arms" was equally misleading. Searches in the mission stations produced a few undeclared rifles, shotguns, revolvers, and relatively inconsiderable quantities of ammunition.⁸ Many German missionaries, while in demeanour servile to an extreme degree, were in reality resentful of British authority, and inclined to interpret military regulations as having no application to their missions. In such a spirit they had failed to declare arms and ammunition which they had acquired either for sporting purposes or for protection against the natives. It is unquestionably true. however, as Toll alleged, that the German missions took advantage of the opportunities given by their religious position to evade censorship regulations to a considerable extent—one missionary even went from a station near Eitape to Humboldt Bay (a distance of eighty miles) in a native canoe But this, too, was partly due to an arrogant intolerance of restraint rather than to any political or military value in the correspondence secretly received and furtively despatched by them. In the circumstances, however, it is not surprising that administrative officials were suspicious and distrustful.

² Thus, at the headquarters of one of the missions, the arms and ammunition declared after the proclamation of martial law (and with the exception of a few licensed guns, not disclosed before) consisted of one double-barrelled shot-gun and 53 cartridges, one Mäuser rifle (broken) and bayonet, one Flobert rifle and 35 cartridges, one tree-barrelled shot-gun and rifle combined and 34 cartridges, one single-barrelled pea-rifle, one double-barrelled pea-rifle and 850 cartridges, one revolver and one packet of cartridges, one revolver, one revolver and 450 cartridges, one Browning pistol and 60 cartridges, one revolver, and one revolver and 250 cartridges.

Apart from racial feeling, official relations between the Australian administrators and the German settlers were, on the whole, smooth and free from embarrassment. Both merchants and planters were, as a rule, capable and experienced business men, who conducted their commercial affairs with method and efficiency. Moreover, the German colonist was generally a law-abiding person, who rendered prompt obedience to enactments and orders. In matters such as reporting himself at prescribed periods, complying with the provisions of the Native Labour Ordinance (e.g., sending in returns of his native employees and paying off time-expired recruits), submitting his correspondence for censorship, and obtaining permits to proceed from one district to another, he gave little trouble to the military authorities.

Control of his methods of recruiting was a more difficult problem. The proposed itinerary of a recruiting voyage had to be sanctioned by the Administrator and the Native Affairs Department at Rabaul, or by a district officer. The place and time at which the ship had to report en route, or when recruiting was completed, was endorsed on the permit carried by the recruiter: but when once the ship had disappeared over the horizon, it was not always possible to ensure that the prescribed route would be adhered to. Sometimes reports of irregularities would filter through from places where the recruiter had, according to his ship's papers, no right to be. The long stretches of coast-line, the scattered islands, the paucity of white settlers dotted here and there on the fringe of the Possessions, made it easy for a recruiter to land a boat's crew of armed natives, surround a village, and carry off the able-bodied inhabitants. Another method was to entice natives on board a recruiting schooner with alluring gifts of gaily-coloured cloth or beads, or presents of the much-desired tobacco, and then to batten the visitors down under hatches and put to sea. Sooner or later the affair would come to the knowledge of the authorities, but by that time the recruiter would have covered up his tracks, so that the evidence still available would not justify a conviction. His profits from an enterprise of this sort were great, while legitimate recruiting was often difficult and unremunerative; the temptation was



KING'S BIRTHDAY PARADE AT RABAUL, 3RD JUNE, 1916 Brigadier-General Pethebridge, with staff, inspecting the troops

therefore constantly before him to take advantage of his opportunities. Endeavours to prevent illegal recruiting, the investigation of reports, and the obtaining of evidence in respect of alleged breaches of the recruiting laws, occupied a good deal of the time both of the Native Affairs Department in Rabaul and of district officers and their staffs. Many a long patrol through trackless forest, many a whale-boat journey round reef-sown coasts, many a canoe voyage up monsoon-flooded rivers, owed its origin to the raiding and burning of villages and the kidnapping of by the crews of recruiting schooners. In the many a South Sea Island drama, shot with colour and incident, unfolded its scenes in the court-house Rabaul.

Except for those members of the occupying force whose duties were in themselves engrossing or of a peculiarly novel or interesting nature, the daily routine was dull enough. The conditions were those common in the tropical Pacific including the occasional shocks of earthquake and periods of tropical downpour.4 In these circumstances and in that environment, among a heterogeneous body of high-spirited men with ample time on their hands, it was rather surprising and very much to the credit of the troops that the bugbear of all soldiers, section 40 of the Army Act ("conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline"), was so seldom invoked. Especially irksome, perhaps, was the lot of the garrison in Rabaul, since the majority could not, except on comparatively rare occasions, get away from the environment of the town itself. At Rabaul there were few attractions of the kind which a town usually offers; at the same time its garrison was to a great extent debarred from the essentially open-air life of an outstation, and therefore missed the patrols by land and sea which lent interest to service in

^{*}Maj. Newport, commenting upon an earthquake experienced at Rabaul on the night of 1st January, 1916, says that it "is variously spoken of by old residents as the most severe for five to seventeen years. Nevertheless there is no record of any furniture, shelves, &c., having been shaken down. . . . This is ascribed to this one baving a rotary rather than a vertical heaving motion." Brig.-Gen. Johnston, reporting another earthquake on the morning of 7th May, 1919, states: "Much damage was caused to property." As an example of the monsoonal conditions, Newport's statistics show that for eighteen days (27 Dec., 1915-13 Jan. 1916) the rainfall at Rabaul amounted to nearly 43 inches.

the outlying districts. Everything possible that might add to the amenities of garrison life in Rabaul was provided. A rifle range was constructed in picturesque surroundings at Rapindik near Matupi, and rifle-shooting became a popular pastime, competitions taking place between the different companies, between officers and non-commissioned officers and men, and between the navy and the garrison. There were also. of course, practice shoots and musketry instruction, and the standard of shooting among the garrison was high. miniature rifle-range was also opened in Rabaul. A tenniscourt was placed at the disposal of non-commissioned officers and men; a cricket-pitch was laid down, and cricketing material supplied; a swimming-bath, proof against sharks and sting-rays, was constructed in Simpson Harbour. Arrangements were made for the regular despatch of films from Australia, and picture shows were given from time to time. Moreover there were red-letter days when parties of noncommissioned officers and men paid a visit to Kokopo or had a short cruise to the Duke of York Islands. For the officers there was a certain amount of freedom and of social life visits to other officers' bungalows and occasionally to hospitable plantations in the vicinity, and week-ends at Kokopo or Toma. At times horses were obtainable for riding or driving. A few fortunate officers owned their own motor-cars, and could benefit by about a hundred miles ot road in the Gazelle Peninsula. The Administration itself had two or three cars, which, under certain conditions and restrictions, were available for the occasional use of officers.

The garrisons of the outstations, although more isolated, had in some ways a more interesting life. They had fewer restraints and less indoor and sedentary work, and could generally, in the course of their duties, see something of the country round them.

A good deal of garrison life centred round the messes and the "wet" canteen. The officers' mess at Rabaul was at all times a favourite rendezvous outside working hours. The sergeants' mess at the same place was a favourite gathering-place and the centre of much spontaneous and well-organised hospitality and entertainment. There was also a Regimental Institute, where the men had a reading and writing room, and where euchre, bridge, billiards, draughts, and chess were played, with tournaments from time to time. The Institute was a bright spot in the dull life of the garrison, and special interest was taken in it by the senior officers with a view to doing something for the welfare and entertainment of the members of the force.⁵

Although each steamer from Australia brought a large mail, especially of newspapers, and although the Regimental Institute had a growing library, there was never enough reading matter for the garrisons in a country where darkness comes on at 6.30 p.m. all the year round. For this and other reasons it was perhaps inevitable that sooner or later a local magazine, conducted by members of the force, should make its appearance. There were many in the force who had had some journalistic or literary experience, and many who wished to write. The first publication was a two-page news-sheet called The Namanula Times, which appeared on 22nd December, 1915, as a "Special Christmas Number" issued "by permission and passed by censor." Among its contributors was Pethebridge. The Government Printer, Lieutenant Lyng, was the editor and the staff. It was written in a light-hearted holiday vein. The garrison was informed that "in placing the first issue of The Namanula Times before the public, we wish to state that, while other papers through careless journalistic methods are most unreliable. iournal contains nothing but the absolute and indisputable The correctness of literary contributions forwarded to The Namanula Times must be testified to by the Judge-Advocate, an O.C., a Nurse, or a luluai." It gave a fanciful forecast of the allurements of a fancy-dress ball to be held at Government House that same evening, and under

The Rabaul garrison band was formed during 1916, when, in response to an appeal made by the Administrator through the Australian press, instruments and music were presented to the force. The band's first appearance on parade was on the King's birthday in that year; thereafter it turned out for the parades and became an integral part of the garrison's activities, and in many other ways proved a decided acquisition. The first instruments donated were three cornets, two tenor horns, two baritone horns, one euphonium, and one bombardon, given by the Graham Brothers Proprietary of Rutherglen in Victoria. Other instruments, and selections of band music, were presented by the Victoria Racing Club and kindred societies. The garrison was also fortunate in having the services of an experienced bandmaster in Sergt-Major M. C. Nuttall (of Williamstown, Vic.).

a scare-heading "Rabaul in Danger" gently satirised Strangman's anti-malarial campaign by alleging that "it is reported that the last three surviving mosquitoes in Rabaul have escaped: the P.M.O. offers a reward of a bottle of quinine and two pints of rum for their capture (dead or alive)." Alarming estimates were given of the number of malaria germs that could be disseminated by the three mosquitoes. This issue of The Namanula Times was followed by a second number, issued on New Year's Day 1016, in which the doings of the garrison during the Christmas season were vivaciously These were the only two numbers of The Namanula Times to see the light. This jeu d'esprit, which happened to chime in with the mood of the troops in their first New Guinea Christmastide, was greeted with sufficient friendliness to encourage its editor to launch a monthly paper called The Rabaul Record. The first number bore the date of 1st March, 1916; it contained an introduction by Pethebridge, giving it a warm welcome, defining its scope in the circumstances of military occupation, and imposing certain restricon the subject-matters. Thenceforth the Record appeared month by month, and was regarded as something which belonged intimately to the force. It chronicled the exploits of the troops in sport, the events of the month in recreation and entertainment, and the pith of the war news received by radio from Australia. From the commencement it contained articles on native customs, and historical and descriptive sketches of New Guinea, contributed from the various garrisons. During most of this time Lyng continued to be its editor and its most prolific contributor. The Record won a place of its own in the life of the Territory, and among those who subscribed to it were many of the German colonists. Its career continued until the middle of 1918, when publication was discontinued by direction of General Iohnston.6

After the discontinuance of The Rabaul Record only one other publication was attempted. This was at Christmas 1918, when there was issued a diverting publication entitled Passed by Censor The paper poked good natured fun at various happenings, among them Johnston's attempt to create a mobile force with headquarters at Kokopo. The continual arrival from Australia of men who were promptly rejected by a medical board, and returned to the Commonwealth, was humorously referred to under the guise of an advertisement.—"Koko-po for the Air. The health resort of the Pacific. Cricket, Golf, Physical Jerks. Vacancies for a few more boarders. Invalids arrive from all parts of the Commonwealth and are sent away cured by following Melsia Terms: from 6s, per diem E.D.P. (Extra Duty Pay) by arrangement." The frailities of the Rabaul iceworks

The Botanic Gardens, situated among the wooded foothills which surround Simpson Harbour, constituted one of the abiding charms of Rabaul. At the commencement of the military occupation the maintenance of this beautiful place had been a matter of concern to Colonel Holmes, who had arranged with the German official in charge to remain on as director until other provision could be made. As a result of a request by Holmes that the services of someone experienced in tropical agriculture should be secured to assume control of the gardens, the Defence Department arranged with the Oueensland Government that Howard Newport, who was then in charge of the State's experimental gardens at Kamerunga, near Cairns, should be lent to the military administration. Newport, who arrived in New Guinea in April, 1915, received from Pethebridge and his successors every encouragement in his ambition to maintain the gardens not only as a source of pleasure to the garrison, but as an intrinsically valuable adjunct to the agricultural interests of the Territory; his appointment was that of Director of the Botanical Gardens, and immediately after his arrival Pethebridge ordered him to confer with the Principal Medical Officer with a view to growing such vegetables as would assist in combating the disease of beri beri among the natives. As a result of this conference a request was made that certain seeds should be obtained from Queensland and Newport found the gardens "to be rather badly affected with pests and plant diseases," but during January, 1916, he succeeded in supplying fourteen varieties of fruit and eighteen of vegetables for consumption by the garrison.8

The scope of the Director's work was, however, very much wider than his designation indicated. By July his department

The cost of production was little more than half the value of the produce.

were exposed by one who "Wanted to exchange—Iceworks in good condition: guaranteed to work two days a month, and can be used alternatively as a bathheater, for motor-cycle or tin of Capstans." Readers were also informed that as "Gent wishing to return to Australia would exchange Sam Browne, issue overcoat, water bottle, and pair of puttees for a coconiu plantation or a first single to Sydney." There were also "travellers' tales," among which it was alleged that once upon a time there was a cook who could camouflage bully beef so that it tasted like a fillet of beef in the grill-room of the Hotel Australia; a canteen that never ran out of the things one wanted most; a man who came back and settled in Rabaul after the war; and a sergeant who preferred quinine to beer.

I Maj, H. O. Newport; A.N. & M.E.F. Tropical agriculturist; of Caiins, Q'land, b. India, 21 March, 1870. Before Newport's arrival, the gardens were for a time in charge of a private of the A.N. & M.E.F., J. Gibb (of Elizabeth Bay, N.S.W.).

was advising planters in regard to the various staples most suitable for culture in the Territory and the measures necessary for the eradication and prevention of diseases and pests. On the suggestion of the Naval Board, meteorological information was also collected and sent daily, by wireless, to Melbourne. In March, 1918, a Department of Agriculture was formed and Newport was appointed Director.

In the task of carrying on the administration of the Territory all ranks bore their part. If few names have been mentioned in this volume, it is only because its scope has necessarily been limited to giving in broad outline the constructive phases of the establishment and conduct of the military government. Here the initiation and direction of affairs was naturally the work of the principal officials; but they could have accomplished nothing without the loyal co-operation of their subordinates; and there were many officers, non-commissioned officers, and men in the expeditionary force who for meritorious service deserve to have their names recorded. It is one of the keenest regrets of the writer that he cannot, within the limits of this book. tell of a hundred fine things done by junior officers, sergeants. corporals, and privates. It was through their cheerful enthusiasm, sense of duty, and spirit of service that everything was made worth while to the others, who bore the administrative responsibilities and burdens. thankless tasks, the hardships, and the risks fell mainly upon men who, in carrying out what seemed to them duties of minor importance, worked uncomplainingly and without pretence.10

Newport introduced improvements not only by planting more trees and ornamental shrubs, but in producing new land-cape effects. A grass tennis-court was laid down in 1915; a second was added in 1918.

was laid down in 1915; a second was added in 1918.

10 To provide the New Guinea Administration with a Sydney agent, Commander G. J. Panks (of Sydney) was on 1 Nov., 1916, at Pethebridge's request, appointed Staff Officer for the A.N. & M.E.F., 2nd Military District. He dealt in Sydney with matters arising there affecting leave, pay, and transport of the New Guinea garrison, receiving his instructions direct both from the Defence Department, in Melbourne, and from the Administrator at Rabaul, but he also kept in close touch with the Military Commandant, Sydney. On occasions he visited Rabaul in order to confer with the Administrator. Experts or other special personnel required for New Guinea, or specific goods desired for the garrison, were obtained through Banks, whose appointment facilitated efficient dealing in Sydney with matters connected with the force. His duties were continued throughout the term of the military occupation.

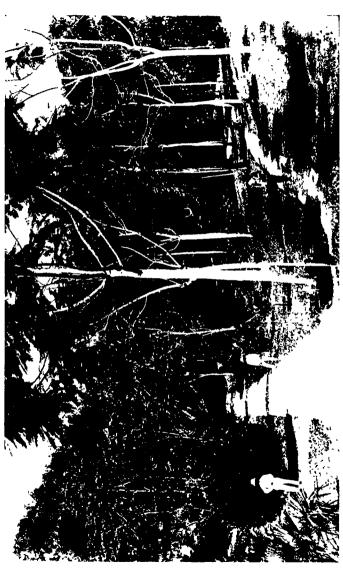
CHAPTER XX

LATER PHASES OF THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

THE military administration of New Guinea during 1915. 1916, and 1917 attained a constructive consistency which it would not have acquired but for the fact that throughout this period the chief conduct of affairs lay in the hands of one It was the good fortune of the Territory that circumstances combined to retain Pethebridge in the office Administrator during all the formative phases of the occupa-Possessing a flair for administration, and reacting to the subtle environment of the South Seas, he knew exactly what kind of government the Territory needed at the time. He had, moreover, enough personality—and enough influence with the Commonwealth Government—to obtain a free hand In this respect his former status as Secretary for Defence was an incalculable advantage. Not only did he enjoy the confidence of Senator Pearce, the Minister for Defence, but he could always rely upon the ready co-operation of T. Trumble the Acting-Secretary, and other former colleagues. Add to this that his departmental knowledge and experience were invaluable in a hundred ways. He knew just where to seek the man or the information required; the mere expression of his wishes went a long way with the Defence Department. These things account in a large measure, but by no means wholly, for the success of the Pethebridge régime. such adventitious aids he could not have achieved so much as he did; but, had he been dependent on these alone, he would not have become the great administrator he was. First and last. Pethebridge's strength lay in his personality. Physically a big man, he appealed to those around him by his virile qualities of mind and body. He was essentially the man of the world in his outlook on life and in his dealings with those under his command; he had the breadth of mind to overlook shortcomings that did not really matter so long as a man was doing his job. Considering the monotonous routine of garrison and administrative duty in the Territory, carried out over a long period by an occupying force consisting of all

sorts and conditions of men, the fact that the commanding officer could keep his sense of proportion was all-important. Pethebridge never held himself aloof; he thoroughly understood the irksome restraints of garrison life in a tropical climate; he knew the "atmosphere" of the South Seas too well to expect the impossible from his men. Tolerant in his judgments, he expected loyal and conscientious service. For slackness and incompetence he had nothing but contempt; while he would pardon a mistake where the intention had been honest, he dealt drastically with the officer who failed him in a trust. To other ranks he was lenient, and there he could be imposed upon when swayed by a personal liking for an individual; but where clemency produced no reform he gave no further grace. In the expeditionary force he was immensely popular. This popularity—which he retained throughout the term of his command-implied a personal bond between him and his troops, and it was one of the main factors that influenced him in remaining so long in New Guinea; for his relations with officers and men gave him peculiar pleasure, and a zest which would otherwise have been lacking in his administrative work. He was often inclined to be dissatisfied that his lot had been cast in New Guinea instead of at the headquarters of the war administration in Australia: every year, however, the Territory strengthened its grip upon him. The task of carrying on the government of the country had from the first appealed to him strongly. The bond between him and his personal staff—the Principal Medical Officer, the Legal Adviser, the Director of Radiotelegraphy, and the Military Secretary-closely associated as they were in the problems of administration, had merged into friendship; and to this circumstance, as well as to the fact that his relations with the heads of the other departments of the administration were exceptionally harmonious, he attributed in some measure his abiding interest in all the details of government.

Pethebridge's administration, therefore, was a period of steady and well-directed constructive work. He brought to his task a clear conception of the salient constituents of practical government. He had a sound knowledge of principles, a surprisingly quick grasp of technical details, a



THE BOTANICAL GARDENS AF RABAUL

The figures are the Director, Major Howard Newport (in centre), and members of his staff

Taken by I J McMahon, Esq.

faculty for getting straight to the core of a problem by means of a few searching questions, and an extraordinarily tenacious memory. All this, added to his industry and promptitude, gave him a capacity for rapid and methodical work. He perused his wireless mail at the breakfast-table; by eight o'clock he was at headquarters, busy upon his papers or with interviewers. By noon he was back again at Government House on Namanula Hill, ensconsed in his favourite corner of the cool, spacious verandah, where, working in a shortsleeved singlet, with a tin of cigarettes always besides him he went through reports and dealt with correspondence. Official memoranda flowed lucidly and forcibly from his pen, some tinged with satire, others perilously urbane. Sometimes an officer, called upon to explain some omission, would report in person, ready with a more or less satisfactory excuse. The Administrator would greet him with the laconic counsel: "Don't explain. Do it!" But there was usually a twinkle in the kindly eyes behind the gold-rimmed spectacles.

In the course of his three years' rule there were inevitably many changes of personnel in the force. The climate took its toll of health or of life. Only those with strong constitutions, who kept their minds and bodies active, could withstand the insidious inroads of malaria and other tropical diseases and of temperamental tendencies. Pethebridge himself for the first two years retained his vigour and energy in a remarkable degree, and the principal administrative officers associated with him from the commencement of his command were also able to continue their work with comparatively little interruption through sickness. It was indubitably demonstrated that in a tropical climate the mind rather than the body is the predominating factor in the maintenance of health. The man in charge of a department was too much occupied with his duties and his responsibilities to worry over the chances of falling sick. He had to use his brains, and his mind was thus prevented from becoming fallow and inertthat condition so fatal to physical and moral well-being in the tropics. where the man who is able to idle away his days in a cane lounge does not last long. The busy man had a further factor in his favour: he had to keep himself fit for his next day's work, and had therefore to adhere to a rational standard of living. The Administrator was a hard worker, and expected his staff in particular, and the administrative officials in general, to be equal to all the demands he made upon them. There was consequently maintained a high standard of keenness both in work and in outdoor sports, and a wholesome spirit of co-operation and good fellowship characterised the administration.

The period 1915-17 was the best season of achievement that the military occupation of the Territory was destined to Never again occurred the same combination of forces directed towards one aim. Pethebridge was in the beginning of 1917 at the height of his prestige. His credit stood high with the Commonwealth Government, and no request made by him was refused. For all practical purposes the Ministry had handed German New Guinea over to him to govern as he thought best. The German colonists, too, had come to recognise that they could look to him and his officials for a just interpretation of the terms of capitulation. Administrator and his principal officers readily granted interviews to the colonists, irrespective of nationality, and the personal touch thus established did much to remove misconceptions on both sides. The same procedure was adopted during visits to outstations. Here, too, the knowledge of persons and of the local conditions in each district was invaluable to officials who for the most part had to deal from the central administration at Rabaul with questions relating to the outlying portions of the protectorate. All these things helped materially in maintaining a coherent and stable government.

Then, in the full tide of his success, Pethebridge's health broke down. A severe malarial fever attacked him in January, 1917, and, strangely enough, his robust constitution could make little headway against the disease. He did, indeed, recover from the worst symptoms of the fever; but the struggle affected his heart and deprived him of the power to resist any recurrence of serious illness. His fine physique was shattered, and it was abundantly evident that only an immediate change to a temperate climate would save his life. But the Administrator would not admit that the climate had beaten him. He stuck to his post. To those around him he

was visibly failing. Though he still showed almost the same faculty for dealing with official matters, the creative interest began to flag, and the keen energy which had hitherto been so much a part of him and so great a stimulus to others began to wane. Gradually, too, he was losing his sure touch, and his perspective became at times blurred. By the middle of the year he could no longer deceive himself; in June, therefore, it was arranged that he should return to Australia on furlough at the beginning of August and remain there until he had recovered his health. Before the time came for departure, his plans were all upset and his prospects changed

At the end of July, 1917, the Burns-Philp steamer Matunga cleared from Sydney for Rabaul. Among the passengers were sixteen members of the expeditionary force, most of them returning from furlough. Included in these were Colonel Strangman, the Principal Medical Officer, Major Flood, medical officer at Kokopo, and Captains Cains,1 Laycock,² and Mackintosh, who held important offices in the administration. The Matunga carried 500 tons of navy coal for H.M.A.S. Una (then stationed at Rabaul), about 1,000 tons for the administration's inter-island steamers, and a large cargo of provisions. The Pacific was at that time believed to be free of enemy raiders, and for this reason it would appear that censorship had been so far relaxed as to permit merchants in Australia to send, en clair, wireless messages relating to shipping and commercial matters in connection with the South Sea Islands. In pursuance of this practice a radiogram in plain language had been despatched by the Sydney office of Burns, Philp and Company to their office in Rabaul, conveying the information that the Matunga had left Sydney on a certain date for Rabaul, viâ Brisbane, and giving particulars of her cargo of coal and provisions. On Sunday, August 5th, Burns, Philp's agent in Rabaul received a wireless message en clair, sent from the ship at 5 p.m., and stating:

"Arriving yours Tuesday 2 a.m. arrange Burrows coal direct."

Died 7 Aug., 1936.

¹ Capt. A. W. Cains. Life assurance clerk; of Sydney; b. Newcastle, N.S.W. 3 July, 1883

² Capt. F. Laycock. Clerk; of St. Peters, S. Aust., b. Adelaide, 18 March, 1869.

This was the last message ever received from the Matunga. Tuesday wore on, but the ship was not reported in sight. By nightfall surprise was expressed, for she had been expected by daybreak. When the radiogram of August 5th was sent she was only thirty-three hours' steam (about 300 miles) from Rabaul. It was thought, however, that she might have encountered a storm or run into adverse currents, and the garrison turned in at "lights out" confidently expecting to hear her anchor-chain rattling noisily in the quiet night. When Wednesday came and passed without sign of the ship or any tidings from her, anxiety grew apace. She was a single-screw vessel; but, if she had broken her propeller-shaft. her captain would certainly have called up Rabaul, reported his plight, and requested that the Una or one of the administration ships should be sent to give her a tow into port. What had happened? If she could not use her wireless, everything pointed to a disaster. All kinds of theories were advanced. She was known to be heavily laden with coal—she might have been overwhelmed by a storm of extraordinary violence; but weather on the south coast of New Britain was calm and settled at the time, and the Matunga must have been quite close to New Britain by Sunday night. She might have encountered one of those strange, sudden upheavals of the sea, due to seismic or volcanic disturbances, which sometimes occur in the tropics. The chance of her having caught fire and her boiler having exploded was considered, as was also that of her having become a total wreck on the New Britain In either of these events, however, there should have been time in which to send out a wireless call for assistance. It was thought unlikely that she had been captured, the Navy Office having only recently reported that the Pacific was free of enemy ships; but, if she had been seized, why had she not got a message away before she was boarded? In all the theories, except those relating to sudden and overwhelming disaster, the failure to use her wireless was unaccounted for.

Still, she might be ashore, or drifting and in need of urgent assistance. No time was to be lost. The *Una* was off the New Guinea coast near Madang. A radiogram in



Left to right. Captam H. D. Preston, General Johnston, Lieutenant-Colonel S. S. Mackenzie, Commander G. J. Banks, and Lieutenant E. F. Ryan. THE ARRIVAL OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. J. JOHNSTON AT RABAUL, 18TH APRIL, 1918

code was sent off by the Administrator to Commander Burrows, informing him that the Matunga was overdue, and requesting him to proceed south along the coast of New Guinea, search Vitiaz and Dampier Straits (as the Matunga might have drifted there), and thence search the south coast of New Britain. At the same time the Madang was despatched from Rabaul with instructions to proceed round the eastern end of New Britain and then along the south coast. District officers were to send out patrols along the coasts of their districts, and to instruct the natives to report any signs of wreckage. The Naval Board was informed of the steps taken, and the Encounter was ordered to proceed to Samarai in Papua, pick up the route taken by the Matunga, and work along that course to Rabaul. This the Encounter did, zigzagging from Woodlark Island to New Britain. But of the Matunga there was no trace anywhere.4

The loss of the Matunga—for it was now accepted that she was lost—cast a gloom over the troops. There were sixteen of their comrades on board, and among the officers and crew of the ship many were well known to the members of the force, the Matunga having been identified with the Territory from soon after the beginning of the occupation. On Pethebridge, ill and depressed, the blow fell particularly The loss of so many of his force—among them his close friend and messmate, Colonel Strangman-and the absence of any tidings as to the fate of the vessel, proved too great a strain on his already overwrought system. He had thrown himself unsparingly into the task of drawing up plans for a thorough search of the coasts, giving himself scarcely any rest and getting but little sleep. While he could lose himself in action, he kept going, but as soon as nothing further could be done with regard to the missing vessel, his strength gave out. There was a recurrence of his malaria, and he lay in hospital, the medical forecast being that at best he might recover sufficient strength to make the voyage to Australia.

² Commr. W. Burrows, R.N.; b. Crediton, Devon, Eng., 24 July, 1883.

⁴ It eventually transpired that she had been captured by the German raider Wolf, but news of this did not reach Australia until mid-January. For a detailed account of the Matunga's capture and of the Wolf's achievements see Vol. IX. ch. si.

Then, as if by a great effort of will, Pethebridge appeared, for a few weeks, to be regaining his health. Against medical advice he quitted the hospital and resumed an active participation in administrative affairs, the direction of which during the crisis of his illness had devolved upon the Judge. Pethebridge seemed now to lose the depression which had been a concomitant of his malady; he was in cheerful spirits and confident of speedy recovery and an early return to his command when, on the 21st of October, 1917, he sailed from Rabaul for Australia, taking with him the goodwill of all ranks of the occupying force, and leaving behind him a record of achievement that makes him the outstanding figure in the military administration of New Guinea.

He was never again to see the blue seas and the towering mountains of New Guinea; but his work was done, and to him is due the credit of having established the structure of the administration in a form which enabled it to last throughout the long period of the military occupation. Others followed and completed the task, but they were inevitably influenced by the policy which he had framed and carried out in the plastic stage of construction.

When Pethebridge left New Guinea, the conduct of the administration fell upon the writer, who, on the 21st of October, 1017, was appointed Acting-Administrator, his duties as Judge of the Central Court being taken over by the Crown Law Officer, Major Rowland. On the 25th of January, 1018. General Pethebridge died in Melbourne, his strength never having rallied after his severe illness in New Guinea, and his condition having gone from bad to worse. His death, in itself a great loss to the administration, altered the whole situation. The Acting-Administrator was continued in his office by appointment of the Federal Government, and carried on the military administration until the 21st of April, 1918, Brigadier-General Johnston⁵ (who had returned to Australia after service in the A.I.F.) assumed office as Administrator, the writer resuming his duties as Legal Adviser and being appointed Judge of Appeal.

⁸ Major-Gen. G. J. Johnston, C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., V.D. Commanded 2nd Div. Artillery, A I.F., 1915/17; Military Administrator of German New Guinea, 1918/20. Furniture manufacturer and warehouseman; of Melbourne, b. Melbourne, 24 Oct., 1860.

IG18-20]

No radical changes had been introduced during the six months' period between Sir Samuel Pethebridge's departure from New Guinea and the arrival of General Johnston Pethebridge's policy had been closely adhered to; in particular, his view that the military occupation of the Territory was effectively established, and that, having regard to the settled conditions in the Pacific, it was not necessary to maintain a large number of troops in the country, had been concurred in by the Acting-Administrator. The occupying force had therefore not been increased, but rather decreased in the interests of economical government. But General Johnston-viewing the position in New Guinea from the standpoint of his war experience—held a different opinion; and the main features of his term of office were, first, the construction of a fort on Raluana Head (commanding the entrance to Blanche Bay) to take the place of the former battery on Matupi Island; second, the endeavour to create a mobile force for military purposes, as a unit distinct from the members of the occupying force engaged in administration duties. The training of the latter force was, however, to be continued, and it was intended that it should co-operate with the new unit. In this project Johnston found himself faced with several difficulties, one of the chief being that the men sent to New Guinea from Australia at this stage were for the most part physically unfit to stand the climate: large numbers had therefore to be sent back for discharge, and others obtained in their stead. personnel of the force was thus continually changing, and it was found impossible to establish an effective unit such as he had in mind. In the end he reverted to the idea favoured by Pethebridge—the carrying on of the administration by a body of seasoned men who performed administrative work while at the same time serving as a sufficiently effective force of occupation. During his term of office several of the outlying portions of the Territory were brought under more effective control: a station was established on Buka Straits as a supplementary administrative point for the northern part of the German Solomons: a new district was constituted at Gasmatta for the northern coast of New Britain; and a post was created at Wanimo for the better control of the territory adjoining the Dutch portion of New Guinea.

Johnston was succeeded, on the 1st of May, 1920, by Brigadier-General Griffiths,6 a man who had established an outstanding reputation in the A.I.F. by reason not only of his administrative capacity, but also of his judicial fairness and other high, loyal, and unselfish principles. His administration of New Guinea was marked by the same qualities of thoroughness and industry that he had shown in his previous career. He had, however, no real opportunity of settling into a term of ordered and methodical direction of the affairs of the country, inasmuch as, four months after his taking up office, the Expropriation Ordinance, issued through him by the Commonwealth Government, deprived him, in effect, of much of his real influence, and at the same time shattered the then existing economic and political structure of the Territory, paralysed its trade, and put the administration on an entirely new footing.

⁸ Brig.-Gen. T. Griffiths, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., A.A.G., A.I.F., 1916; Commandant, Admin. H.Q., A.I.F., 1917/18 and 1919; Administrator of German New Guinea, 1920/21 and 1932/34; Administrator of Nauru, 1921/27. Of Mel bourne; b. Presteigne, Radnor, Wales, 29 Sept., 1865



FORT RALUADA, COMMANDING THE ENTRANCE TO BLANCHE BAY.

This battery (6-inch guns) was constructed in 1918, taking the place of the 47-inch battery on Matupi Island (see plate at p. 198).

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CHAPTER XXI

THE MANDATE AND THE END OF THE MILITARY OCCUPATION

By this time events in Europe had culminated in the signing of the Treaty of Peace at Versailles on the 28th of June, The decisions arrived at round the conference table in that highly-charged atmosphere, where national aims and ambitions mingled with altruistic ideals, were destined to affect profoundly the fate of the Territory of New Guinea, which throughout the critical years of the conflict on the Western Front had seemingly been so remote from the fires of war. But now the Territory was to feel the influence of the cross-currents of Allied interests. Its future was to be determined by the application of new principles, designed, in theory, to deal with an awkward situation arising from the fact that enemy territory in military occupation of a conqueror would, in the ordinary course, remain in his hands as a portion of the fruits of victory. For, in the course of discussions and pronouncements as to the basis upon which terms of peace could be offered, the formula of "no annexations" had been born and proclaimed to the world. But although the principal Allies in Europe were not desirous of acquiring additional colonial territory, nothing was more certain than that those Allied nations, which had carried the well-nigh intolerable burden and endured the long agony of the war, would not, in their present mood, sanction the restoration to Germany of her territories and colonies held by them in military occupation. If, then, these territories and colonies were not to be annexed, and yet were not to be returned to their former owner, some other formula appropriate to the exigency would have to be discovered. solution was found in the system of "Mandates." this system an Allied or Associated power could be appointed to administer a territory as a mandatory of the League of Nations about to be constituted under the covenant that was to form part of the Treaty of Versailles. moment, the personality and ideals of the President of the United States dominated the situation in Europe, and his influence was sufficiently great to have those aspirations carried into effect: hence a complete structure of a system of mandates, erected upon those foundations, was embodied in the Covenant of the League. Thus in Article 22 of the Treaty the principle is enunciated that

"To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

"The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

"The character of the Mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

"Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion.

subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of the territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

347

"There are territories such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above-mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

"In every case of mandate the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

"The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

"A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories, and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates."

The three classes of mandates indicated in the foregoing provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League have become known as "A," "B," and "C" Mandates, and it is to the "C" category that New Guinea is assigned.

Now by virtue of Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles Germany renounced in favour of the principal Allies and Associated powers all her rights and titles over her colonial possessions. It was agreed, as a result of negotiations conducted at the Peace Conference at Versailles, that with regard to New Guinea a mandate for the government of the Territory, in pursuance of the provisions of Article 22 of the

Covenant, would be conferred by the Council of the League of Nations upon His Britannic Majesty for and on behalf of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, to be exercised by the Government as mandatory for the League of Nations. Accordingly, in September, 1920, the Commonwealth Parliament passed the New Guinea Act 1920, making provision in anticipation for the acceptance of the mandate about to be conferred on Australia and for the administration of the Territory in accordance with the terms that were to be embodied in the mandate. The preamble to this Act is of historical interest:—

"Whereas on the seventeenth day of September, 1914, the Territories and Islands hereinafter mentioned (then being possessions of the German Empire) were occupied by and surrendered to the Naval and Military Forces of the Commonwealth:

"And whereas by the Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth day of June, 1919, Germany renounced in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over the said Territories and Islands:

"And whereas the said Territories and Islands are now occupied by the Commonwealth:

"And whereas it has been agreed by the representatives of the Principal Allies and Associated Powers that a Mandate for the Government of the said Territories and Islands should be conferred on the Commonwealth of Australia:

"And whereas under the Covenant of the League of Nations contained in the said Treaty a Mandate is to be issued to the Commonwealth of Australia for the Government of the Territories and Islands formerly constituting German New Guinea (in which expression are included Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, the Bismarck Archipelago, the German Solomon Islands, the Admiralty Group, and all other German Pacific Possessions south of the Equator other than the German Samoan Islands and the Island of Nauru), with full power to administer the same subject to the terms of the Mandate, as an integral part of the Territory of the Commonwealth:

"And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the acceptance of the Mandate so to be issued:

"And whereas it is also expedient to make immediate provision for the Civil Government of the said Territories and Islands."

The Act then declares that "the Territories and Islands formerly constituting German New Guinea as specified in the Preamble to this Act are hereby declared to be a Territory under the authority of the Commonwealth by the name of the Territory of New Guinea." Section 5 of the Act pre scribes: "The Governor-General is hereby authorized to accept the Mandate for the Government of the Territory when issued to the Commonwealth under the Covenant of the League of Nations." In this manner, then, the Common wealth Government on the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace acquired the right and authority to administer New Guinea as an integral portion of its territory.

It was not until the 17th of December, 1920, that the mandate for New Guinea was actually conferred upon Australia as mandatory for the League, and it was the 6th of April, 1921, before a certified copy of the instrument itself was in the hands of the Commonwealth Government Thereafter no time was lost in bringing the military administration to a close. On the 7th a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General declaring that the New Guinea Act should come into force on 9th May, 1921; and, two days before that event should happen, the military administrator at Rabaul issued a proclamation that, from 9th May, 1921, the military occupation of New Guinea would cease and a civil administration be established in and over the Territory

During the closing stages of the military occupation other issues were overshadowed by the paramount importance of the question whether, upon Australia's obtaining a mandate for the government of New Guinea, the German settlers would be permitted to remain in the Territory, and whether, if they were not repatriated, they would be allowed to continue in the possession or enjoyment of their property. Now Article 297 of the Treaty provides that "subject to any contrary stipulations which may be provided for in the present Treaty, the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to retain

and liquidate all property, rights, and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty to German nationals or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions, and protectorates including territories ceded to them by the present Treaty."

The article further provides that the liquidation shall be carried out in accordance with the laws of the Allied or Associated state concerned, and the price or the amount of compensation shall be fixed in accordance with the methods of sale or valuation adopted by the laws of the country in which the property has been retained or liquidated. In and by the same article Germany undertakes to compensate her nationals in respect of the sale or retention of their property, rights, or interests in Allied or Associated states. By Article 121 of the Treaty it is declared that the foregoing provisions shall apply to former German possessions oversea, whatever the form of government adopted for them.

It will be seen that, by virtue of the mandate and of the above-mentioned provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, the Commonwealth Government acquired the right to retain and liquidate property, rights, and interests in New Guinea belonging, at the date of the coming into force of the Treaty, to German nationals or companies controlled by them. This provision is in itself, perhaps, one of the most significant results of the overwhelming burden which the Great War had laid upon those nations which took part. The immunity of private property on land from seizure or confiscation in, or after, war by the victorious side had, before the Great War, become a principle of international law, affirmed in modern practice and embodied in the Hague Rules. law, however, was continually and flagrantly broken Germany during the war; and, when the great struggle came to an end, it became obvious that, if the losing side was to make anything approaching the fullest practicable reparation. the property of its nationals in the territory of its late enemies must be sacrificed.

The question of the legality of the economic clauses of the Treaty relating to private property was indeed raised by the German delegation before the Peace Conference at Versailles, and the objections then put forward are recorded

THE WHARF AT RABAUL

Taken by T I McMahon, Esq.

in the delegation's notes of 22nd May, 1919, and 29th May, 1919, and in the "Annex Number I to their Remarks on the Conditions of Peace." The delegation contended that it was not legitimate to use the private property of German nationals to meet the obligations of Germany; that the settlement of private rights was not being made on the principle of reciprocity; that German property should not be used as a guarantee for the liabilities of the States allied to Germany; that the liquidations to be made by the Allied and Associated powers, in depriving the owner of the free disposition of his property, were of a confiscatory character.

In answer to these objections the Allied and Associated powers stated that:

"(a) As regards the first objection, they would call attention to the clear acknowledgment by Germany of a pecuniary obligation to the Allied and Associated Powers, and to the further circumstance that the immediate resources of Germany are not adequate to meet that obligation. It is the clear duty of Germany to meet the admitted obligation as fully and as promptly as possible, and to that end to make use of all available means. The foreign investments of German nationals constitute a class of assets which are readily available. To these assets the Treaty simply requires Germany to make prompt resort.

"It is true that as a general principle a country should endeavour to avoid making use of the property of a part of its nationals to meet State obligations; but conditions may arise when such a course becomes necessary. In the present war Allied Powers themselves have found it necessary to take over foreign investments of their nationals to meet foreign obligations. and have given their own domestic obligations to the nationals who have been thus called upon to take a share, by this use of their private property, in meeting the obligations of the State.

¹ The full text of the objections submitted by the German delegation, and of the Allied reply, will be found in British Parliamentary Paper, Miscellaneous, Number 4, 1919, at p. 48.

"The time has arrived when Germany must do what she has forced her opponents to do. The necessity for the adoption of this course by Germany is clearly understood by the German peace delegates, and is accepted by them in the following passage, quoted textually from their note of the 22nd of May:—

'The German peace delegation is conscious of the fact that under the pressure of the burden arising from the Peace Treaty on the whole future of German economic life, German property in foreign countries cannot be maintained to its previous extent. On the contrary Germany, in order to meet her pecuniary obligations, will have to sacrifice this property abroad in wide measure. She is prepared to do so.'

"The fundamental objection mentioned above is completely answered by the note itself.

- "(b) The German delegation maintains in its note of the 22nd May that there is only the appearance of reciprocity in regard to the settlement of enemy property, and this objection is developed in the Annex to the The objection, however, arises remarks. confusion between two entirely different matters. regards exceptional war measures taken in the different countries in respect of enemy property, there is a reciprocal provision, these exceptional war measures being confirmed on both sides. Ouite a different matter is that of the mode in which enemy property shall be dealt with thereafter. German property, as is admitted in the German note, must serve towards meeting Germany's obligations to the Allies. The compensation to the German property owner must be made by Germany In this respect there can be no question of itseli. reciprocity.
- "(c) On the question whether German property should serve as a guarantee for the liabilities of the States allied with Germany, it is to be observed, on the one hand, that the actions of Germany and her Allies during the war have given rise to complete solidarity between

these Powers from the economic-standpoint. For instance, negotiations undertaken without scruple between Germany and her Allies have resulted in the division between these countries of the proceeds of the Allied and Associated property, liquidated contrary to all right the territories occupied by the German troops. Further, the German authorities have in several ways treated the Allied and Associated Powers as being jointly concerned. For instance, they have seized French credit balances in Belgian banks as a measure of reprisal against acts done in other Allied states. They have similarly justified the liquidation of French property in Germany on the ground that similar measures have been taken against German property in other Allied countries. Thus, the principle of joint liability to which Germany now objects has been initiated by herself, and she has created a situation which does not permit the Allied and Associated Powers in practice to separate the obligations of the Allies from her own. Nevertheless, the Allied and Associated Powers are prepared to omit from the charge on the property of German nationals the liability to satisfy the unpaid debts of nationals of Powers allied with Germany.

"(d) The method of using this property laid down by the Treaty cannot be considered, either in principle or the method of its application, as a measure of confiscation. Private German interests will only be injured by the measures contemplated so far as Germany may decide that they shall be, since all the proceeds of German property will be carried to the credit of Germany, who is required to compensate her own nationals, and will go to reduce her debt to the Allied and Associated Powers."

It is hardly possible to impugn the justice of this reply, either in its indictment of the practices adopted by Germany in relation to private rights during her military occupation of enemy territory, or in its justification of the right of her opponents, who had suffered thereby, to include in the treaty the clauses concerning the retention and liquidation of German property. It is admitted that hardship might fall upon

German nationals if Germany failed in her expressed undertaking to compensate them. They might even suffer if the German Government carried out that promise, since the so-called compensation might doubtless be illusory; a pecuniary assessment or valuation is not necessarily the equivalent of a home which a man has himself created by hard toil and which abounds in personal associations and memories. In the case of New Guinea, for instance, a sum of money might be very inadequate compensation for a coconut plantation which might reasonably be expected to return its owner an income for life, and which he has carved out of the tropical jungle, after many years of work, at the risk of his health and perhaps of his life. Moreover, not only was there at issue the question of his being deprived of his property, but there was also the prospect of his being forced to quit a country which had become his home and in which he had spent perhaps the greater part of his career. In respect of investments in house property, debentures, bonds, or shares in foreign countries, a man could conceivably be fully compensated by being given their equivalent value in money, but it was otherwise in the case of privately-owned agricultural estates in the German colonies. It did, in fact, happen that the compensation which Germany offered to her nationals who suffered by the exercise of the provisions of Article 297 of the Treaty represented only a small proportion of the actual value of the private property retained and liquidated by the Allied and Associated powers in former German possessions oversea. Considerable hardship was thus actually inflicted, but the justice of the action of Germany's former opponents is not thereby in any way affected.

As to the expediency of the measure there was perhaps more room for doubt. Apart from the consideration that the precedent thus introduced might be unfortunate, there remained the question whether the expropriation of the various German properties in each of the countries in which they existed might or might not be for the benefit of those countries. It is not unnatural that, in order to obtain a small

measure of relief from the universal post-war impoverishment, the Allies generally decided to carry out the provisions for expropriation. In the case of the British Empire these rights were exercised both by the Imperial Government and by the self-governing dominions in respect of former enemy territories over which they had had military authority. Great Britain imposed these measures on the property of German nationals in the former German colonies of East Africa, Togoland, and the Cameroons, while the Union of South Africa took similar action in relation to South-West Africa, and New Zealand adopted a similar policy in Samoa. At the same time the property, rights, and interests of German nationals resident in territories of the Allied and Associated powers were subjected to the charge prescribed in the Treaty of Versailles. In actual practice the policy was found to call for some modification, and certain exemptions were accordingly granted; but in the years immediately after the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace the powers which it conferred in relation to private property were freely employed by the Allies.

Similarly in Australia the Hughes Government decided to exercise these powers in relation to New Guinea. The step was not widely discussed, and, indeed, was assumed by the mass of the people, still strongly affected by the feelings of the great struggle, to be a natural consequence of the war. A few of those who had close acquaintance with the conditions in New Guinea looked ahead and questioned the wisdom of the measure, urging that, if it were deemed necessary to eradicate the German element, the Commonwealth Government should do so by purchase. It is doubtful if this argument would have found favour with the Australian public, which, as a whole, had no opportunity of arriving at a considered judgment upon the question. The matter was, however, to some extent discussed in the report of a Royal Commission which the Australian Government had on the 12th of August. 1919, appointed to visit New Guinea and report on certain matters in connection with the Territory. Included in the scope of inquiry were (a) the nature and extent of privately-owned property, and (b) the action necessary for the transferring to, and retaining under. British

ownership of such property in the event of a policy of resumption being decided upon. The personnel of the Commission consisted of Judge Murray,2 Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, a widely recognised authority on New Guinea and Pacific questions, as Chairman, Atlee Hunt,3 then Secretary of the Department of Home and Territories, and Walter H. Lucas,4 Islands Manager for Burns, Philp, and Company. The chairman presented a minority report, in which his recommendations, both on the subject of the organization of a system of government in accordance with the terms of the mandate, and on the question of resumption of privately-owned property, were at variance with the views of the other two The commission was not, in fact, asked to commissioners. advise whether privately-wmed property should be resumed. but that issue was more or less closely bound up in the question of the form of government to be adopted for the Territory. In this connection the majority report expressed the opinion that if the German residents were allowed to continue in occupation of their positions as missionaries, traders, or planters, "the Government must expect to be met with continued hostility, veiled perhaps, but none the jess manifesting itself in the creation of embarrassments for a Government which, though tolerated, will be hated. will form a solid and influential party, outwardly perforce deferring to British control, but in national and commercial sympathies entirely alien."

In dealing with the question of German missions, the majority report expressed the view that "as mentors of the natives they will have innumerable opportunities of working insidiously against Britain and Australia, discrediting the Administration, impugning its justice, instigating native disaffection and unrest, to prove the inefficiency of the new régime and the native dissatisfaction therewith.

"The consequence as regards our relations to the League of Nations and our Allies and to neutrals would be most

Sir Hubert Murray, K.C.M.G. Lieutenant-Governor of Papua 1908/40; b. Sydney, 29 Dec. 1861 Died 27 Feb, 1940.

A. A. Hunt, Esq., C.M.G. Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 1901/17; Department of Home and Territories, 1917/21; of Armadale, Vic.; b. Baroondah, Fitzroy River, Q'land, 7 Nov., 1864. Died, 19 Sept., 1935.

W. H. Lucas, Esq., Islands manager of Burns, Philp, & Co. Ltd., until 1920. Technical Adviser for New Guinea and Chairman of the Expropriation Board, 1920/25; b. Essex. Eng., 15 Mar., 1869.

serious, and it appears that so long as German missionaries are in a position to form a strong German outpost, ready to consolidate old and establish new interests, with full knowledge of all local conditions and their activities cloaked by their missionary garb, Australia will be unable to transform the mandated Territory into a peaceful, harmonious, and prosperous colony of the Commonwealth."

The majority report further stated: "Your Commissioners have no reason to assume that Germans who are traders or planters are more favourably disposed towards Britain and Australia than are German missionaries, and much of what has been said already regarding missionaries applies equally to other Germans, but the planters viewed industrially are, as a rule, steady and hard-working settlers, and it may be worthy of consideration whether in the commercial interests of the Territory a certain number should be allowed to remain."

On this latter point, Judge Murray also, in his minority report, quoted with approval the opinion of the Administrator General Johnston, who had placed before the Commission his views with regard to the smaller owners as distinguished from the big companies. He had stated that in the majority of cases these planters were a good type of the settler who in pre-war days was willing to run the risk of an unhealthy climate and uncomfortable and rough mode of living, and, with or without financial help, work hard to force his plantation to a bearing stage. He submitted that such men individually could do little or no harm to the administration. They were very adaptable, and would readily conform to discipline and prove useful citizens, with a vested interest in the Territory. He recommended that all private owners should be permitted to continue in undisturbed occupancy of their interests. Judge Murray observed in his report that, during the period of about two months that he was in the Territory, he saw and heard nothing which would make him disagree with what the Administrator said. It seemed to him probable that the task of administration would be facilitated if the private owners were allowed to remain in possession of their estates.

In regard to the large German companies with headquarters and political, financial, and commercial connections in

Hamburg and Berlin, it was obvious that measures to secure effective control or winding up would have to be taken by the Commonwealth Government. The future peace of the Territory would have been ruined if these powerful corporations had been allowed to continue to carry on with Germany a direct trade involving all the incidental commercial, banking, and shipping interests, and, more important still, the political connection with that country. It was, however, a matter for opinion whether the same considerations applied so cogently to the smaller companies and firms with head-quarters in the Territory or to the individual German traders and settlers.

As between these views the Hughes Government decided in favour of that expressed in the majority report, and finally determined that the measures of expropriation should apply generally to all property, rights, and interests belonging to German nationals in the Territory. An Expropriation Ordinance, prepared in Melbourne for issue by the military administration—which was not replaced by a civil government until the mandate was received—was brought into force on the 1st of September, 1920. In order, probably, to avoid any attempt at evasion or even possible sabotage, no indication of the Commonwealth Government's policy had been given to the German residents, who, though rendered somewhat anxious by the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and expecting some special charge on their property or even onerous taxation, had been greatly reassured by the manner in which the terms of capitulation had been adhered to throughout the military occupation up to this juncture, and by the fact that they themselves had already for a lengthy period been under Australian rule. The expropriation ordinance provided for vesting in the Public Trustee under the Treaty of Peace Act 1919—the statute which adopted the Treaty of Peace as part of the laws of the Commonwealththe property of any firm or company which the Administrator should declare by notice published in the Gazette to be in his opinion managed or controlled, directly or indirectly, by or under the influence of, or wholly or mainly for the benefit or on behalf of, subjects of Germany or persons resident or carrying on business in Germany; the property of any person



A CUTTING ON THE NORTH CONST ROAD, NEW BRITAIN

This road from Rabaul was constructed by the German Government

Taken by T ! McMahon Esq

whom the Administrator should declare to be in his opinion a German national; the estate of any deceased German national which the Administrator should declare to be an estate to which the ordinance applied. An Expropriation Board, consisting of three members appointed by Administrator, was charged with the management of the property of any firm, company, person, or estate so designated On the very day on which the ordinance came into force the property of the principal German companies in the Territory was vested in the Public Trustee and so passed into the hands of the Expropriation Board. This decisive step of taking over the control of the principal companies was followed up, on the 21st of September, 1920, by an order of the Administrator vesting in the Public Trustee the property of the remaining companies and firms, the estates of deceased persons, and the property of German nationals then residing beyond the limits of the Territory. Six months later, on the 21st of March, 1921, a further order vested in the Public Trustee the property of German nationals resident in the By this means the estates of all the German companies and firms, as well as those of individual German planters and settlers, came under the authority of, and into the possession of, the Expropriation Board.

The measure—as has been indicated—was regarded as essential in order to avoid the ruinous consequence that would come from divided loyalty among the white inhabitants. But the immediate result was inextricable confusion. Since the board's staff had been hurriedly appointed and consisted of men with little or no experience in business management or tropical agriculture, it was unable to conduct at the same time the affairs of a number of large commercial companies with extensive and intricate ramifications. These companies, it may be mentioned, had previously made heavy demands upon the energy and expert knowledge of their own managers and employees. In addition, the expropriated plantations of the smaller companies, of firms, and of individual persons had to be carried on. The whole principle and system upon which the military administration had been built up had been reversed; the revenue of the Territory fell away; the system of trade and credit which Holmes and Pethebridge and their successors had organised among the community in New Guinea, and with merchants in Australia, broke down; the government of the country lost, for the time being, its firm basis and its clear unity, and became entangled in the attempts of the Expropriation Board to cope with an overwhelming task and merged to a great extent in these exceptional measures and the innumerable complications that followed a sweeping policy of expropriation of private property.

The subsequent policy of the Commonwealth Government and the steps by which it set itself to rebuild order and prosperity on a different foundation, are beyond the scope of this history. In April, 1921, General Griffiths, who for private reasons did not desire a further term of control in New Guinea, accepted the position of Administrator of Nauru. and was succeeded in New Guinea by Brigadier-General Wisdom.⁵ By this time the Military Administration had become a mere form; and on the 9th of May, 1921, civil government was established in the Territory, General Wisdom being appointed Administrator under the new civil régime. The long military occupation had come to an end.

The period of administration in New Guinea extending from the 12th of September, 1914, until the 9th of May, 1921, has a special interest, since it represents the first occasion on which Australians have been faced with the mission of capturing an enemy country and establishing and carrying on the government of territory under military occupation. It was something new in the history of the British Empire—and indeed in the history of the world—that an overseas dominion under the British crown should send a fleet and a military force nearly 2,000 miles to wrest a colony from the grasp of a European power. How did this young Commonwealth acquit herself in the task she had been set?

In the first place, the convoying of the expeditionary force, the destruction of the German wireless stations at Nauru, Samoa, and Bitapaka, and the capture of New Guinea were a striking vindication of the policy of an Australian navy as a separate and complete unit in home waters. In undertaking the service requested by the Imperial Government—of seizing

⁶ Brig-Gen. E. A. Wisdom, C.B., C.M.G, D.S.O., V.D. Commanded 7th Inf. Bde., A.I.F., 1916/19 Of Cottesloe, W. Aust., b. Inverness, Scotland, 29 Sept., 1869

and putting out of action enemy wireless stations in the Pacific-Australia had to reckon with the existence of the formidable German East Asiatic Squadron, and particularly the armoured cruisers Scharnhorst and Gneisenau with their 8.2-inch guns and their highly-trained crews. In the Sydney and the Melbourne the Australian Navy possessed a modern type of fast light cruiser; the three destroyers and the two submarines were modern, and some of the other small units and the old cruiser Encounter were serviceable. Nevertheless the Australian ships would have been utterly outclassed by the German squadron but for the fact that the battle-cruiser Australia had been retained as flagship of the Australian Navy instead of being attached to the Royal Navy in European waters.6 As events proved, at the outbreak of war her 12-inch guns were a decisive factor in the naval situation in the Pacific, causing the German squadron to make for South American rather than Australian waters.7 existence of this serviceable Australian fleet alone rendered it possible for the Commonwealth Government to contemplate. as a serious military measure, the despatch of an expeditionary force to the German possessions in the Pacific.

And here, too, was seen a further result of the policy inaugurated by the Commonwealth under the Defence Act. The system of training adopted for the citizen forces was found to be capable of producing officers who, with a period of intensive training and special instruction, proved themselves useful and efficient and readily adaptable to the conditions of an expeditionary force. With this nucleus, the enlistment of the other ranks was found to be readily practicable.

While the organization, despatch, and convoying of the naval and military expeditionary force to New Guinea were measures swiftly and efficiently carried out, the subsequent delay in dealing with the occupation of islands north of the equator was unfortunate. Why, it will be asked, were no steps taken to that end during the fateful months of September, October, and November, 1914? The delay in the first place was due to matters of naval strategy, in

⁶ The policy of the Australian Government concerning the retention or otherwise of Australian ships in the Pacific is discussed in Vol. IX of this history.

* See Vol. IX, ch. sv.

which it was the policy of the Government to follow the advice of its experts. Admiral Patey, in command of the Australian fleet, did not see his way to furnish an escort for Colonel Holmes's force to proceed beyond New Guinea: and thus Holmes's dispositions for garrisons at Angaur, Yap, and Ponape, carefully prepared during the voyage of the Berrima to Rabaul in August-September, 1914, were never carried out. If the occupation of the Marshalls and Carolines could have been accomplished as a continuation of the expedition to New Guinea, while everything was going with a swing, there lay the chance and But having brought the troops in safety as far as New Britain, Patey, acting in accordance with a principle with which thoughtful Australians agreed, decided that his duty thenceforth lay not in escorting an expeditionary force to a base farther north, but in seeking for von Spee's squadron. Whether it would have been feasible for him to have made the convoying of a detachment of the expeditionary force to the islands of the north-west Pacific fit in with a sweeping fleet-movement in search of the German cruisers is a question with which probably a naval student is alone competent to Had the Australian Government interfered with his decision, it would have laid itself open to the charge that, at a critical moment, it had placed a local Australian objective before the interests of the Empire and its Allies. It is to be remembered that, from Patey's point of view, the task of escorting the New Zealand expeditionary force to Samoa, and then the Australian expeditionary force to New Guinea, had caused an anxious pressure of time. He was, moreover, faced with the necessity of detaching the Melbourne and Sydney in order to allow of their proceeding to Australia for a refit and then being available by a fixed date to join the escort of the transports of the first contingent of the Australian Imperial Force. Thus the opportunity passed, and thenceforth the tide of events ran strongly against Australia's chances of occupying the northern island groups. It is not to be imagined that the Government had ready to hand trained men, material, and a suitable ship, which could be quickly brought together and despatched on such an enterprise. There was, first, the lack of co-ordination in

this matter between the naval and military authorities in the Commonwealth; then, the absence of coal at Rabaul; next came the burdens and problems of equipping and despatching the first contingent to Europe and the furnishing of an escort for the troopships. Lastly, when the way at length seemed clear and an expedition was ready to sail to the north-west Pacific, an unexpected barrier was erected through international relations and understandings between Great Britain and Japan, and the turn of political events in the latter country. Notwithstanding all these adverse factors, the story of the north-west Pacific islands is one of failure on the part of the Commonwealth through a lack of initiative in the early stages of the enterprise. islands were allowed to pass into the control of another power, with effects on the future history of the Pacific which, whether good or ill, are irrevocable.

It has at times been suggested that the officials of the military administration of New Guinea reacted to the influence of the German environment in the Territory, and tended to acquire the viewpoint of the German settlers rather than the British outlook on such questions as native administration. In fact this was not so. At no period during the military occupation did the officer administering the government himself depart, or permit other officials to depart, from the traditional principles of British colonial administration of a subject race. But the circumstances in the Territory were unusual, and it would be in some respects irrational to look for similarity of its conditions with those of a British tropical dependency. It should not be forgotten that the hands of the military administrator were tied; he was not at liberty to work his will; he had stepped into the position held by the German governor; the military administration itself was a merger or continuation of the former German administration, and under the terms of capitulation the laws and customs of the Territory were to continue in force during the occupation. Moreover the rules of war expressly forbade a military occupant to make important changes in the law of the occupied territory. Hence in matters such as the recruiting and indenturing of native labourers the basic principles of the German legislation were adhered to in

accordance with the terms of capitulation and in conformity with international law. To this extent, and for this reason, there were differences between the administration of native affairs in New Guinea and in, for example, the neighbouring Australian territory of Papua, where British methods and principles had enjoyed uninterrupted sway over a long period of years. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that officials of the military administration, who, owing to circumstances, were bound to adhere to the German legislation in force, were in full sympathy with all its features. Indeed, on the question of native administration, the military occupant disapproved of the provisions of the German regulations relative to the infliction of corporal punishment on natives and exercised—with the authority and approval of the Commonwealth Government—the extreme limit of his legal powers. On the plea of the exigencies of the British military occupation, he first modified and later abrogated the German native-labour legislation relating to corporal punish-In other respects, too, the military administration found itself bound and restricted by the circumstances of the occupation where otherwise changes would have been Much indeed was done despite the shackles. introduced. The Court became an English court in procedure and in atmosphere, notwithstanding the fact that the law administered therein was perforce German. The Treasury and the Customs Department became replicas of Australian departments. many other ways, so far from the German environment influencing the members of the administration, the reverse happened. English became the accepted language and was frequently spoken among the Germans themselves; and, as time went on, in the conduct of affairs and in the constant communication and connection with Australia, the Territory began to take on the appearance of a British colony.

One of the most serious problems the military administration had to face was the difficulty in obtaining the services of medical men with a knowledge of tropical medicine and hygiene. It is somewhat strange—and casts a sharp illumination on the inadequacy of the medical preparedness of the Defence Department—that although an Institute of

Tropical Medicine had recently been established by the Commonwealth at Townsville in Queensland, no reference appears to have been made to it for medical personnel until comparatively late in the campaign. During and after the war the conditions by which this omission had been rendered possible changed greatly. As a result of the campaigns in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and of the experience of the military administration in New Guinea, there was a rapid growth of interest in tropical medicine among medical practitioners, and a fuller recognition by the public-and presumably by the departments of government—of the outstanding importance of this matter. Never again, in a fight against the attacks of a treacherous tropical climate. in relation both to its own personnel and to the native population under its control and care, will an Australian administration be handicapped to the same extent as was the military administration of New Guinea. The mere fact that New Guinea is now administered under a mandate from the League of Nations has given both increased opportunities for research and a stimulus to the study of tropical medicine and hygiene.

Something similar has happened with regard to the provision of an administrative staff. It has become recognised that the government of large native territories cannot be properly entrusted to men casually chosen—that special experience or training and a high standard of integrity and humanity are necessary in an administration into the keeping of which Australia's honour and the lives and happiness of the New Guinea natives have been entrusted. It is true that in the Government of Papua those principles had long since been established: but Papua itself has in other respects benefited by Australia's awakened interest in New Guinea. Ouestions of tropical cultures and agriculture have commanded greater attention. Hitherto Papua, with her comparatively small output, has had a lone-handed fight for improved shipping facilities and for a favourable market in Australia for her products. When New Guinea came into line and made the same claims for recognition, the combined influence of the two territories secured for them the removal

of shipping restrictions, and gained them preferential treatment in regard to such of their products as can be grown to greater economic advantage there than in Australia.

Australia has no need to be ashamed of the record of her military administration. It is conceivable that even more might have been done with the new territory had it not been for the hampering effect of the provision of international law, which prevented the alienation of land, and which would seem to require reconsideration, at least in its application to any young country in a stage of vigorous agricultural development and in which there remain large areas of crown During the protracted military occupation of New Guinea the applications from settlers for permission to take up virgin land for cultivation became more and more numerous as the years passed by; yet, although the applications were the natural outcome of the prosperous condition of the Territory, and the progress of the country was being impeded by their refusal, the military occupant had no power It is conceivable that economic pressure to alienate land. could become so acute that hardship to the inhabitants of a country, and certainly serious embarrassment to the administration, might be the result of this absence of authority in the military occupant.

It will probably stand to the credit of Australia that her young land and sea forces swiftly and successfully occupied this difficult territory. But it is still more to her credit that in those forces there were found the men who capably administered every branch of the government not merely with a respect for the law of nations which, on the whole, won the implicit approval even of German inhabitants, but with that consideration of the interests of the natives which already distinguished Australian administration of Papua, and which has long been the mark of British rule in new territories, however undeveloped, and among backward peoples.

APPENDIX No. 1

GERMAN DIARIES FOUND AT RABAUL.

Soon after the Australian occupation of Rabaul the diaries of two German officials were discovered. One—compiled by a Government secretary, by name Kerler—consisted mainly of pencilled notes and copies of notices issued by Government officials at Rabaul. The more important are given hereunder:—

The declaration of war arrived here on 5/8/14, 10.15 p.m. at the post-office.

Midnight. Conference lasting two or three hours. Government and Treasury removed to Toma.

6/8/14, 10.30 a.m.-

CALL TO ARMS!

All soldiers at present on furlough are ordered to report at the Government Offices at 4 p.m., to the senior officer for the time being, First-Lieutenant Berghausen.

Rabaul, the 6th of August, 1914.

The Imperial Governor,

By authority,

SCHLETTWEIN.

2-3 p.m.—Sharpening my sword.

4 p.m.—Parade. A single troop formed of 29-30 men. Articles of war read. . . .

NOTICE.

Public telephone communication will be suspended as from 4.30 p.m on the 6th August until further notice in Rabaul and Herbertshöhe, and also at the auxiliary station at Bitapaka. Private messages will not be transmitted from this time onwards by the Rabaul-Herbertshöhe-Bitapaka system.

Rabaul, the 6th of August, 1914.

Imperial Post Office.

iiperiai i ost Onice,

WELLER.

NOTICE.

Until further notice postal matter of every sort will only be accepted at risk of the sender. No compensation will be payable for any losses that may occur.

Rabaul, the 6th of August, 1914.

Imperial Post Office,

WELLER.

NOTICE.

English, French, and Russians at present in the Rabaul district are forbidden to leave their dwellings or the town limits respectively until further orders. In urgent cases, the permission of the District Officer must be obtained.

Rabaul, the 6th of August, 1914.

The Imperial District Officer,

Tölke.

7/8/14.-

At 7 a.m. the troop falls in, and is given leave till 3 p.m. (Berghausen didn't turn up). The European troops must ration themselves for eight days. Rifles to be brought where possible.

3 p.m.—The troop falls in. 3.15.—A ship reported. 3.30.—Alarm shots fired.

Englishmen to the north coast—Vlavolo—(Jolley, 2 Whitemans, Louri, and Miller).

All Chinese, Malays and natives are hereby forbidden to carry arms. Whoever is found in possession of any weapon will be punished according to military law.

All arms are to be delivered, against receipt, to the District Office, before to-morrow noon, Saturday, the 8th instant.

Rabaul, the 7th of August, 1914.

The Imperial District Officer,

Tölke.

9/8/14.—

The five Englishmen set free again.

Notice is again given that, upon the approach of the enemy or upon the landing of any enemy force, no opposition is to be made. . . .

Rabaul, the 9th of August, 1914.

The Imperial District Officer,

TÖLKE.

12/8/14.—

At 6.45 a.m. three destroyers (Australian) entered. The Warrego tied up to the jetty. "Where is Mr. Whiteman? Where is the wireless station?" . . . At 2 p.m. the Warrego came back and destroyed the post-office. Besides the two destroyers there were apparently two battleships (Australia and New Zealand¹) and one other large ship there.

12-13th.—On night ride to Toma.

16/8/14.-

Rumoured that Australia will send troops.

The other diary—that of an official in the post-office at Rabaul—is more comprehensive:—

- 28 July, 1914.—Rumours spreading that Austria has sent an ultimatum to Serbia, and that Germany has addressed a demand to Russia that warlike preparations on the Austrian frontier shall be stopped.
- 29 July.—At the wireless station at Bitapaka, now in building, emergency antennæ have been fitted to the 45-metre tower, and the station is getting ready to receive wireless messages. All-night duty established at the telegraph stations at Rabaul and Herbertshöhe.
- 31 July.—The district superintendent gone to Herbertshöhe to give instructions to the Postmaster there. Further alarming reports.
- I August.—S.M.S. *Planet* is off to Yap. The Bitapaka wireless station on duty every night from 10 to 12. War between Serbia and Austria.
- 10 p.m.—Discussion with the Government. Decided to withhold as yet the notice that, on account of war or common danger, mail matter will be received only at sender's risk.
 - 4 August.—No news. Bitapaka intercepted nothing.
- 5 August.—Bitapaka caught an official telegram for Angaur to the effect that Kiaochao will take no more cypher telegrams; deferred messages are no longer permitted, and telegrams should he routed viâ Guam. . . Posts are established on Matupi, the North and South Daughters, and the Mother, as well as in Herbertshöhe. An expeditionary force is to occupy the wireless station now in building at Bitapaka.
- At 10.15 p.m.—Telegram to the Governor, Rabaul, Nauru. War with England, France, and Russia confirmed.

Telegraph Receiving Office, Central.

- 6 August—Cessation of all public telephone services and of the reception of telegrams. Notice given of the withdrawal of compensation for the loss of any type of mail matter. The government is transferred to Toma.
- At 4 p.m. mobilisation of all persons liable for service, and formation of a defence force of 40 persons.
- 7 August.—Establishment of a field-post for the militia and the expeditionary force. False alarm at 3.15 p.m. A vessel enters St George's Channel. All Englishmen arrested and kept in custody—not known where. The defence force encamps at Malagunan. . . . All mail to or from foreigners seized.
- 10 August, 10 p.m.—To Rabaul at midday came information that a strange vessel was approaching, which was signalled to as a phosphate steamer from Nauru. The steamer cruised for a long time in St George's Channel, and then disappeared again.
- 11 August.— . . . The wireless station at Bebra can now operate (25 horse-power motor got from Komine).
- 12 August.—A telephone message from the planters at Put-put says that several ships have been seen cruising in St. George's Channel

and off the east² coast of southern New Mecklenburg. At 5.30 a.m. Herbertshöhe sends news that an English fleet (one battleship, two large cruisers, and one small one, and three torpedo-boats) have appeared in the roadstead off Herbertshöhe. At 7 o'clock three torpedo-boats appear. . . . Again at 9 o'clock a boat comes to shore. . . . At 10 o'clock Herbertshöhe informs us that a torpedo-boat is landing men. At 10.30 line broken. . . .

At 2 p.m. the torpedo-boat Warrego again lands three officers, six men, and two mechanics. The post-office is occupied . . . lines utterly destroyed, and the installation cable cut. Half-an-hour later the English leave again. . . . The situation is serious. In a letter to the Governor, . . . a demand is made that the wireless station should cease working immediately, . . . All the Englishmen are under guard at Namanula.³

- 13 August.—The English-Australian fleet has disappeared. In Herbertshöhe the attempt was made, by threats of severe treatment, to get some news about the wireless station. . The post-office as well as the telegraph-instrument room was thoroughly ransacked . . . No news from the seat of war (Yap apparently destroyed).
- 14 August.— . . . The Siar and Konnet returned. After taking in coal, both left again to get into safety. . . .
- 16 August.— . . . Line interrupted at 2 o'clock, wire being broken by fall of a tree at 8k. Line in working order again on the 17th. All the English have been sent to Batze in the Bainings, except Lieutenant-General Wylde, who is in custody in St. Paul. . .

Telegraph lines have been laid to Paparatava and Tobera, and direct communication established between Tobera and Bitapaka and Herbertshöhe and Bitapaka (New Guinea Co.).

18 August.— . . . Yap ceased transmitting. Nauru and Apia still working. . . .

The field station was dismantled at 4 o'clock and temporarily withdrawn to the post-office.

- 19 August.— . . . The installation of a new district telephone net is in hand.
- 20 August.—A new telephone exchange is being got ready in the Works office building.
- 21 August.—Line to Herbertshöhe interrupted 8 a.m. . . . ; line restored about 2 o'clock.
- 23 August.—Alarm given that a warship is cruising off the Mother (6 a.m.). Turns out to be the little steamer Gabriel belonging to the Catholic Mission. Six table-sets arrived from Friedrich Wilhelmshaten.
 - 24 August.—Telephone net Rabaul re-opens with eight lines.
- 27 August.—The Madang arrived from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, and the Samoa from Samoa. . . . The Siar is probably going to the Dutch Indies.
- 30 August.—The Siar left at 8.30, apparently for Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, Humboldt Bay (Dutch Indies), and Makassar.
- 2 Sept.—Rumour spread that Tsingtau has fallen.... Probably a line is to be built from Toma far into the interior of Baining. Apia has sent no messages for two days. Intense wireless

activity—Japanese, American, and English ships. In case we get no more answers from Nauru, the Government will be moved from Toma and a new wireless tower built of wood.

- 3 September.—The Government has again taken 300,000 marks to Toma. . . .
- 4 September.—Consultation with Councillor Schlettwein about arrangements for sending mails viâ the Dutch Indies. The reason why the Siar had not been compelled to carry mails could not yet be determined.
- 5 September.—Steamer Madang arrives with important news from S.M.S. Administrator Ehemann informs me that he intends going in the Kalili to the Dutch Indies, and will take mails.
- 6 September.—Long press telegram. . . . Yap destroyed on 12th August by the English cruisers Minotaur and Newcastle.
- 8 September.—Mails for Dutch Indies and Germany per Kalili closed.
- 10 September.—Have arranged with Government-Councillor Lederer that L. A. Kleppek shall take over the construction of the line inland from Toma.
- 11 September.—At 3 o'clock in the morning two destroyers run into the harbour. They leave Rabaul again. At 7 o'clock a boat cruises around (the Yarra) not far from the jetty, and lands sailors who break into the N.D.L. shed and steal a great deal. At their commander's instigation, however, they have to give back the booty.

Kleppek receives instructions to break in on the line to Herbertshohe in the neighbourhood of the Hospital. At 10 o'clock the destruction of the district telephone net is completed. (The line to Herbertshöhe was interrupted at 7.15 a.m. Last news was that an English-Australian squadron of many vessels was approaching.) Raluana breaks up its telegraphic station at 7.30. At 1 p.m. the destroyer is relieved by a bigger one. All cutters are collected in the inner harbour behind the N.D.L. jetty. There is a rumour that the N.D.L. boat Sumatra has been caught. At 6 p.m a small cruiser (old type), a submarine, and the Sumatra arrive. Searchlights on the harbour till 9 p.m. Books and registered letters, &c, brought into safety.

12 September.—At 10 a.m. a large cruiser with four funnels enters, apparently the *Melbourne* or *Sydney*. At 1 appear the battleship *Australia*, two submarines, a collier, an oil tank steamer, and three transports. A large cruiser with three funnels is still lying off Vulcan Island.

The rumour is that Rabaul will be permanently occupied by the English-Australian fleet and used as a naval base. Nothing new from Herbertshohe. It seems that troops have been landed there, and are marching inland viâ Ralum. . . .

At 3 o'clock the rest of the Australian fleet appears—a large cruiser and two transports. An officer from the Australia at 2 o'clock measured the N.D.L. jetty and took soundings. Apparently only 2 torpedo boats are now left in Herbertshöhe.

The weather is very hot. A little rain on the 11th.

⁴ This is not correct, the wireless station at Yap was put out of action by H M S Hampshire

APPENDIX No. 2

GERMAN PROCLAMATION OF A STATE OF WAR AT RABAUL.

Extrablatt Des Amtsblattes Für Deutsch-Neuguinea. Bekanntmachung.

Zwischen dem Deutschen Reich einerseits und England, Frankreich und Russland andererseits ist Krieg ausgebrochen.

Das Schutzgebiet befindet sich im Kriegzustand.

Die militärische Macht des Schutzgebiets besteht aus der Expeditionstruppe und den ihr zugewiesenen Europäeren.

Zeichen der Zugehörigkeit zur militarischen Macht ist das Tragen einer grünen Binde um beide Oberarme oder das Tragen einer militärischen Kopfbedeckung mit Reichskokarde.

Zur militärischen Macht gehören nicht die Polizeitruppen der Aussenstationen und der Teil der Polizeitruppe in Rabaul, der zur Aufrechterhaltung von Ruhe und Sicherheit daselbst verbleibt. Erkennungszeichen weisse Binde um beide Oberarme, weisser Mützenbezug.

Das Gouvernement wird nach Toma verlegt.

Rabaul, den 6. August, 1914

DER KAISERLICHE GOUVERNEUR

In Vertretung
Schlettwein.

APPENDIX No. 3.

TRANSLATION OF INSTRUCTIONS FOUND ON LIEUTENANT KEMPF.

21.8.14.

Sent off at 9 o'clock from Paparatava.

Telephone despatch from the Commander of the armed forces:—

Captain of Reserves Wuchert takes over the Bebra force till otherwise ordered.

Lieutenant of Reserves Fiebig takes over the force at Paparatava, and at the same time the charge of the Government Archives.

Warrant-Officer of Reserves Zerssen, and Warrant-Officer of Reserves Weimer are put at the disposal of the Bebra force.

The recently-arrived Naval Reserve Officer, Mr. Schmidt, will take over the post at Raluana.

Warrant-Officer of Reserves Augar will be at the disposal of the Commander of the armed forces in Paparatava, Lance-Corporal of Reserves Kosher at the disposal of the Luttich force.

(Sub-Commander) Von KLEWITZ.

To Lieutenant Kempf.

APPENDIX No. 4.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE SURRENDER OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA.

Admiral Patey's Letter-in German-to Dr. Haber.1

(Note.—The rendering into German of this and Patey's other letters appears somewhat crude, but was sufficiently intelligible for its purpose.)

Seine Britannische Majestäts
Australische Kriegschiff Australia,
vor Simpsonhafen,

11th September 1914.

Euer Herrlichkeit,

Ehre ich mich folgendes zu erwideren, dass ich an Simpsonhafen angekommen bin um Herbertshöhe, Rabaul, und Neu Pommern, in Besitz zu nehmen.

Ich stelle Euer Herrlichkeit vor, dass es nutzlos sei Widerstand zu leisten, da ich eine überwaltige Heere unter mein Befehl habe. Ins Übrigen wird ein solche Widerstand der Grund vermeidliche Blutvergiessen.

In Anbetracht dieses, stelle ich Euer Herrlichkeit vor, der Telefunkendienst mit Eure Schiffe und Seetruppen so fort einzustellen, sonst werde ich es wie Feindseligesthat betrachten.

Deshalb vorfordere ich Ihnen, mir den Stadt Rabaul, und die Kaiserliche Besitzen die unter Euer Befehl stehen, sogleich überzugeben.

Die Antwort muss ohne Aufschub dem Überbringer gegeben worden.

Wenn Sie entscheiden keinerlei Widerstand zu leisten, müssen Sie es mir sofort bekannt machen, auch gebuhrt es Ihnen mir zu versicheren ob Unterseeischeminen sich in die Hafen befinden.

¹ See pp 51-2.

Damit ich der Befehl ubernehmen kann, bemerke ich ergebenst dass Euer Herrlichkeit mir bekundigen, wenn Sie zu bequemer Zeit mit mir oder mit meinen Vertreter beratschlagen konnen.

Auch in Euer Interesse, und den Interesse der Bevolkerung, ist es wichtig einen Ausgleich so schnell wie moglich zu treffen.

Mit der Versicherung meiner vorzüglichsten Hochachtung habe ich die Ehre zu sein.

Euer Herrlichkeit ergebener,

GEORGE E. PATEY,
Contre-Admiral der Schiffe Seine
Britannische Majestäts Australische Flotte.

Seine Herrlichkeit der Gouverneur, des Kaiserlichen Station Rabaul.

Dr. Haber's reply to Admiral Patey's letter.2

Kaiserlicher Gouverneur

von Deutsch-Neuguinea.

Toma, den 11 September 1914.

Euer Exzellenz Note vom heutigen Tage habe ich die Ehre gehabt zu erhalten.

Die Schutzgewalt in den deutschen Schutzgebieten steht Seiner Majestät dem Kaiser im Namen des Reichs zu. In meiner Eigenschaft als Vertreter des Kaiserlichen Gouverneurs bin ich daher nicht befugt, Euer Exzellenz das Schutzgebiet zu übergeben. Auch scheint es mir untunlich, Verhandlungen über einen modus vivendi während des Kriegszustandes zu beginnen, nachdem Euer Exzellenz bereits die Feindseligkeiten eröffnet haben. Aus dem gleichen Grunde bin ich auch genötigt, mich einer Einwirkung auf den funkentelegraphischen Verkehr zu enthalten.

^{*} See pp. 69-70.

Ich habe davon Kenntnis genommen, dass Euer Exzellenz beabsichtigen, die Orte Rabaul und Herbertshöhe militärisch zu besetzen. Beide Orte und ihre Weichbilder sind unverteidigt. Frauen und Kinder befinden sich darin. Die Bürger gehen ruhig ihren Geschäften nach. Auch befinden sich, wie ich ausdrücklich versichere, im Hafen von Rabaul und auf der Rhede von Herbertshöhe keine Seeminen. Jch würde es daher mit Dank erkennen, wenn Euer Exzellenz Sich feindlicher Akte gegen die genannten Orte enthalten und den örtlichen Verwaltungsbehörden gestatten würden auch nach der Besetzung durch Euer Exzellenz. Truppen für die öffentliche Ordnung und Sicherheit zu sorgen.

Ich benutze gern diese Gelegenheit, Euer Exzellenz der ausgezeichneten Hochachtung zu versichern in der ich die Ehre habe zu sein.

E. HABER,

Vertreter des Gouverneurs von Deutsch-Neuguinea.

An den Herrn Befehlshaber S.B.M.

Australischen Geschwaders

Contre Admiral Patty
Exzellenz

Further letter (in German) from Admiral Patey to Dr. Haber.³

S.B.M. Australische Kriegschiff Australia vor Simpsonhafen,

12 September 1914.

Euer Herrlichkeit,

Note vom 11 September habe ich die Ehre gehabt zu erhalten.

In Anbretracht Euer Excellenz Behauptung dass ich bereitz die Feindselig-keiten eröffnet habe, stelle ich Euer Excellenz vor dass meine Brief um sieben Uhr Morgens des elften September ans Land gebracht geworden ist, aber Euer Excellenz war schon nach Toma gegangen.

Infolge dieses Umstandes war es fur mich nur möglich mit einen Vertreter des Reiches zu untereden (sic) wenn ich nach Toma schickte. Folglich ist Euer Excellenz Antwort mir nicht bis sechs Uhr Abends des elften angekommen.

Auch stelle ich Euer Excellenz vor, dass hatten Sie ein wirkendes Verbindung zwischen Toma, wo Sie gegangen sind, und Herbertshöhe, die fruherer Sitz der Regieruing (sic), eingerichtet wurde es nicht elf Stunden dauerin ein note nach Toma und zurück (30 kilometres) zu senden.

Dafur ist das Kampfen, dass bereits Statt gefunden hat, das Ergebniss des Bedurfniss eine wirkende Verbindung zwischen der Sitzder Regierung und Euer Excellenz Residenz nach Ankunft der Britische Seetruppen. Auch hat Euer Excellenz eine feindliche Sinwirkung (sic) auf den F/T Verkehr nicht enthalten, trotz meine schrifftliche Aufkundigung (siehe dritte Paragraph meiner Note des 11 September).

In Anbretracht Euer Erwiderung dass die Orte Rabaul und Herbertshöhe und ihre Weichbilder unverteidigt sind. Ich habe in Besitz eine von Unter-Commandant von Klewitz unter-schriebener Detaillieranweisung. Es gibt in die besagte Anweisung die Nahmen von Offiziere und Unter-Offiziere die detailliert sind militarische Dienst mit Truppen bei Bebra, Paparatava, Raluana, und Luttick zu machen. Eine die besagten Offiziere ist gefangen genommen. Der besagte Anweisung ist vom 21 August. Auch ist der Kriegsplatz des 11 September durch Minen und Laufgraben befestigt. Daher, scheint es mir, Herr Unter-Commandant von Klewitz hat entweder ohne Euer Kenntnis, oder im Widerstand Euer Befehl, diese Thäte vollgebracht.

Ich stelle die vorgehende Gegenstand Euer Excellenz vor. Briefe in Anbetracht der Ubernehmung des Verwaltungsbehorde mussen an "Colonel Holmes, Brigadier of the Occupying Forces," adressiert. Colonel Holmes wird der Regierung versehen.

Ich bis diesem Offizier einen Abschrift auch von Euer note des II September und von meine Antwort derselben, schicken.

Mit der Versicherung meiner vorzuglichsten Hochachtung habe ich die Ehre zu sein.

> Ener Excellenz ergebener

> > GEORGE E. PATEY. Contre Admiral der Schiffe S.B.M. Australische Flotte.

Der Kaiserliche Gouverneur von

Deutch-Neuguinea.

Letter from Colonel Holmes to Dr. Haber.

H.M.A.S. Berrima.

Off Herbertshöhe,

Your Excellency,

12th September, 1914.

I have the honour to inform you that I am commanding the British Troops occupying New Britain, and will occupy Rabaul to-day.

I will point out to Your Excellency that the force at my disposal is so large as to render useless any further opposition on your part, and such resistance can only result in unnecessary bloodshed.

I therefore require that the town of Rabaul and the Dependencies under your control should be surrendered to me forthwith.

An answer should be delivered to the bearer of this letter without delay.

Your Excellency will also be good enough to state when you will interview me with the object of transferring control.

It is desirable in the interests of yourself and of the inhabitants that this should be arranged as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient servant.

WILLIAM HOLMES.

To His Excellency,

Brigadier Commanding.

The Governor of Rabaul, Toma.

Letter from Herr Dr. Lederer to Colonel Holmes.

Toma, den 12. September 1914.

Seiner Hochwohlgeboren Herrn Brigadekommandeur

William Holmes.

Euer Hochwohlgerboren habe ich die Ehre, mitzuteilen, dass ich als Referent des Kaiserlichen Gouvernements Ihr Schreiben an den Herrn stellvertretenden Gouverneur in Empfang genommen habe. Ich habe es an den Herrn stellvertretenden Gouverneur weitergesandt. Eine Antwort auf die Note können Sie frühestens morgen, den 13. September 1914 nachmittags erhalten. Ich darf Euer Hochwohlgeboren ergebenst bitten, morgen, den 13. September um 4½ Uhr nachmittags an der gleichen Treffstelle, unweit Giregire, an der heute der Parlamentär angehalten wurde, wieder einen Parlamentär zu entsenden, zur Übernahme der Antwortnote zu entsenden. Die genaue Einhaltung der Zeit bin ich nicht in der Lage zu garantieren.

Ich habe die Ehre zu sein Euer Hochwohlgeboren ergebenster

Dr. Lederer,

Kaiserlicher Regierungs-und Baurat Referent beim Kaiserlichen Gouvernement von Deutsch-Neuguinea.

[Translation.]

Toma, 12th September, 1914.

To the Honourable⁵
The Brigade Commander.

William Holmes.

I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that as Representative of the Imperial Administration I have taken receipt of your letter to the Acting Governor. I have sent it on to the Acting Governor. At the earliest you can receive an answer to the note to-morrow afternoon, the

⁴ The words "zii entsenden" are repeated by error in the original document.
⁵ The German courtesy formula Hochwohlgeboren, here translated as "Honourable," and as "Sir" in the text of the letter, has no exact equivalent in English usage.

13th September, 1914. I venture respectfully to beg you Sir, on the 13th September at 4.30 p.m., to send another messenger with a flag of truce to the rendezvous near Giregire, where the messenger was halted to-day, for the purpose of receiving the note in reply to your letter. 1 am not in a position to guarantee perfect punctuality as to the time.

I have the honour to be,

Sir.

Your most obedient servant,

DR. LEDERER,

Member of the Imperial Administrative Council, Member of the Board of Public Works, Representative of the Imperial Government of German New Guinea.

Letter from Dr. Haber to Colonel Holmes.

Baining, den 12. September 1914.

Kaiserlicher Gouverneur

von

Deutsch-Neuguinea.

Herr Brigade-Kommandeur,

Aus der Note vom heutigen Tage, deren Empfang ich die Ehre habe zu bestätigen, habe ich entnommen, dass Sie die Absicht haben, die Stadt Rabaul militärisch zu besetzen. Rabaul ist ein offener unverteidigter Platz. Der militärischen Besetzung wird kein Widerstand entgegengesetzt. Nach den internationalen Vereinbarungen über die Gebräuche des Landkrieges hat die besetzende Macht während der Zeit, in welcher durch die tatsächliche Besetzung die gesetzmässige Gewalt auf sie übergegangen ist, die öffentliche Ordnung und das öffentliche Leben aufrecht zu erhalten, und zwar, soweit kein zwingendes Hindernis besteht unter Beachtung Landesgesetze. Das solidarische Interesse, welches weisse Rasse gegenuber den Farbigen besitzt, erheischt nach der gedachten Richtung besondere Vorsicht. Ich habe mir daher bereits die Ehre gegeben, Seine Excellenz den Herrn Admiral Patty zu bitten, während der Besetzung die örtlichen Behörden zwecks der Aufrechterhaltung der öffentlichen Ruhe und Ordnung in Ihren Funktionen zu belassen. Sollten Sie oder der Herr Admiral hierüber noch eine Besprechung wünschen, so stehe ich gerne zur Verfügung. Indessen fehlt mir die Vollmacht, Ihnen die Stadt Rabaul oder einen anderen Teil des Schutzgebietes zu übergeben. Diese Befugnis steht nur der Regierung Seiner Majestät des Kaisers zu.

Sollte Ihnen hiernach eine mündliche Erörterung zweckmässig erscheinen, so darf ich eine weitere Mitteilung anheimstellen.

Inzwischen gestatte ich mir, Ihnen die Versicherung der ausgezeichneten Hochachtung auszusprechen, in der ich die Ehre habe zu sein.

Ihr ergebenster

E. HABER,

Vertreter des Gouverneurs von Deutsch-Neuguinea

An Seiner Brit. Majestät Brigade Kommandeur, Herrn William Holmes, auf S.B.M. Schiff Berrime.

[Translation.]

Imperial Governor

of

Baining, 12th September, 1914.

German New Guinea.

To the Brigade Commander.

From your note of even date, receipt of which I have the honour herewith to confirm, I gather that you intend to take military possession of the town of Rabaul. Rabaul is an open unfortified place. No opposition will be offered to the military occupation. In accordance with international agreements on the usages of land-warfare, it is the duty of the occupying force to maintain public order and security during the time in which, through actual occupation, the regular authority devolves upon it; moreover, in so far as no decisive obstacle renders it impossible, this is to be done with due observance of the laws of the land,

The common interest of solidarity which belongs to the white race when in contact with coloured peoples makes a particular caution necessary in this direction. I have therefore already had the honour

of begging His Excellency Admiral Patty (sic) to allow the local authorities to carry out their functions during the occupation, for the purpose of maintaining the continuance of public peace and order.

Should you or His Excellency desire further conversation on this point, I place myself gladly at your service. Meanwhile, I lack the authority to surrender to you the town of Rabaul or any other part of the Protectorate. The power to do this belongs solely to the Government of His Majesty the Emperor.

If on receipt of this a personal discussion should seem to you desirable, I may leave the matter of a further communication in your hands.

Meanwhile I venture to express to you the assurance of my highest regards, and have the honour to be

Yours most obediently,

E. HABER,

Representative of the Governor of German New Guinea.

To

His Britannic Majesty's

Brigade Commander

William Holmes,
On H.M.S. Berrima.

Admiral Patey's letter (in German) to the Officer Commanding at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen.

S.B.M. Australsiche Schiffe,

Australia,

Friedrich Wilhelmshafen,

24 September 1914.

Euer Excellenz,

Seine Excellenz Herr E. Haber, Vertreter des Gouverneurs der Deutschen Gebiete von Deutsch Neu Guinea, hat mit den Vertreter des Britischen Regierung einen Abkommen getroffen. Hiermit ist Abschrift die gesagten Bedingungen.

In Anbetracht dieses, vorfordere ich Ihnen, in Ansehung die Bedingungen der gesagten Kapitulation die Verwaltungsbehörde zu übertragen.

In Falle dass von Ihnen mir Widerstand geleistet wird, stelle ich Euch vor dass es die Bedingungen der gesageten Kapitulation zuwider ist; auch stelle ich Euer Excellenz vor dass es nutzlos sei Widerstand zu leisten, da ich eine überwaltige Heere unten mein Befehl habe. Ins Ubrigen wurde ein solche Widerstand der Grund verneidliche Blutvergiessen.

Deretwegen gebuhrt es Ihnen mir so schnell wie moglich bekannt zu machen, was fur Schritte sie zu nehmen beabsichtigen, auch mussen Sie mir versicheren ob Unterseeischeminen sich in Euer Hafen befinden.

Bemerke ich noch ergebenst dass Euer Excellenz mir bekundigt wenn Sie zu bequemer Zeit, entweder mit der Administrator der Occupationarmee, oder mit seinen Vertreter, beratschlagen konnen.

Auch in Euer Interesse und in den Interesse der Bevolkerung ist es wichtig einen Ausgleich so schnell wie moglich zu treffen.

Mit der Versicherung meiner verzuglichsten Hochachtung, habe ich die Ehre zu sein.

Euer Excellenz ergebener

GEORGE E. PATEY,
Vice-Admiral der Schiffe
S.B.M. Australische Flotte

Seine Excellenz

Der Vertreter des Kaiserlichen Station,

Deutsch Neu Guinea,

Friedrich Wilhelmshafen.

APPENDIX No. 5.

THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED IN GERMAN BY COLONEL HOLMES.¹

G.R.

BEKANNTMACHUNG.

Bekanntmachung fuer Seine Majestaet, Georg. V., durch Gottes Gnaden Koenig des vereinigten Koenigreiches von Gross Britanien und Ireland und von den ueberseeischen Besitzungen, Verteitiger des Glaubens, Kaiser von Indien.

Durch Herrn Oberst William Holmes, D.S.O., V.D., Commandant Seiner britischen Majestaets, australischen, marine und militaerischen Expedition.

Da die Truppen, unter meinem Commande, die Insel Neu-Pommern besetzt haben, und durch diese Besitznahme die Authoritaet der deutschen Regierung darin zu existiren aufgehoert hat, ist es fuer noetig erachtet, eine passende Regierung fuer obengenannte Insel, zu schaffen, die in zukunft fuer die Beschuetzung des Lebens und Eigentums der friedlichen Einwohner aufkommen wird.

Ich, William Holmes, Companion of the Distinguished Service Order, Oberst in Seiner Majestaets Armee, Brigade Commandant der obengenannten Expedition, mache hiermet Follgendes bekannt:

- (1) Von und nach dem Datum dieser Bekanntmachung, sind die Insel Neu-Pommern und die, von deren Regierung abhaengigen Colonien, in militaerischer Weise von mir, in Seiner Majestaets Namen, in Besitz genommen.
- (2) Der gegenwaertige Krieg ist nur gegen bewaffnete Kraefte des Deutschen Reiches und Seiner Verbuendeten gerichtet.

¹The Proclamation contains a number of typographical errors which may have afforded some amusement to German readers. The English version appears at pp. 76-8.

- (3) Das Leben sowie Privateigentum der friedlichen Einwohner dieser Colonien wird beschuetzt werden. Gesetze und Gebraeuche der Colonie werden, insofern die militaerische Lage es erlaubt, in Kraft bleiben.
- (4) Privateigentum mag beansprucht werden, falls die Truppen dessen benoetigen. Fuer solches Eigentum wird eine verhaeltnissmaessige Entschaedigung bezahlt werden.
- (5) Gewisse Beamte der frueheren Regierung moegen im Besitze ihrer Stellung bleiben, falls dieselben es wuenschen. Ihr Gehalt wird derselbe sein, als bei der vorhergehenden Regierung.
- (6) Dafuer wird es zur Pflicht eines jeden Einwohners, sich vollkommen friedlich zu betragen, seinen gewoehnlichen Beschaeftigungen, soweit es ihm moeglich ist, nachzukommen, sich in keiner Weise an irgend welcher Feindseligkeit, sei dieselbe direkt oder indirekt, zu beteiligen, jeglichen Umgang und Verkehr mit Seiner Majestaets Feinden aufzugeben, und allen Befehlen, welche gegeben werden, Gehorsam zu leisten.
- (7) Es wird unbedingt verlangt, dass alle maennlischen Einwohner, europaeischer Abstammung den vorgeschriebenen Neutralitaetseid in dem Hauptquartiere der Garnison leisten. Schiessgewehre und sonstige Waffen, sowie Munition und Kriegsmateriale, die sich im Besitze oder unter der Kontrol der Einwohner befinden, muessen sofort ausgehaendigt werden, ebenso alles Regierungseigentum.
- (8) Unwillfaehrigkeit der Verordnung der Kekanntmachung und Ungehorsamkeit wider solche Befehle, welche von zeit zu Zeit moegen ausgegeben, werden gemaess Kriegsrecht bestraft werden.

(9) Es wird hiermit veroeffentlicht, dass diese Bekanntmachung auf der ganzen Insel Neu-Pommern und die von deren Regierung abhaengigen Colonien von diesem Tage an in Kraft tritt.

> Gegeben im Regierungshause in Rabaul den 12th September 1914.

> > WILLIAM HOLMES,

Brigade Commandant

Zeuge

Francis Heritage, Major, Stabs Major.

LAND LEBE DER KOENING.

The rank shown after the surname is the highest attained.

A page-number followed by n indicates that the reference is to a footnote.

Administration— -GERMAN in New Guinea. 105-13, 115 (British), Col. -MILITARY Holmes es ablishes, 105, 114-5, 185-8, Pethebridge 178-82, criticises, 170, 177; Col. Pethebridge organises, 189-206, 264, 335-8; under General Johnston. 343, General Griffiths, 344; civil administration replaces, 9 May 1921, 360; résumé of, 360-6; administrative districts work of district officers, 197, 295, 301-5, 343; British traditions upheld by, 233, 265, 338, 363, 366, departed from, 124-6, 259-62; German system of recruiting and discipline modified, 305-6, 328-9, for protection of natives, 227, 229, 232-3, 363-4; services of Australian Institute Tropical Medicine sought, 207, 364-5; Department of Agriculture, 334; Botanical Gardens, 333-4; Government Printer, 115, 180, 191, 197, 331-2; King's Harbour-master, Rabaul, 180, 191, 197; Lands and Survey Department, 115, 197, work of, 277-86, placed under control of D.J.A.G., 278; Legal Department, 115, 180, 191, 197, work of, 251-4, 256-9, 263-72; Native Affairs Department, 115, 180, 191, 197, work of, 227-9, 232-3, 307-10, 328-9; Native Police, 191; Post and Telephones Department, 107; Treasury, 115, 180, 197, 364, work of, 234-42, 245-50; Works Department, 115, 180, 197 -See also Agriculture, Aus-TRALIAN NAVAL & MILITARY Ex-PEDITIONARY FORCE, COMMERCE, DEFENCES, FINANCE, HOLMES, LAND POLICY, LAW, MEDICAL ARRANGEMENTS, NATIVES, NEW (GERMAN), PETHE-Guinea

Administration—continued. BRIDGE, ROADS, WIRELESS TELE-GRAPHY Admiralty Islands (Plate p. 217; Maps pp. 4, 10; Sk. pp. 11, 178), 11, 13, 120, 176, 179, 184, 197, 200, 225, 348; A.N. & M.E.F. occupies and garrisons, 117, 178; Pethebridge visits. relieves garrisons, Jan. and 1915, 191-2; lack of good roads in, 298; see also Manus Island Apolf Harbour (Map p. 10), position of, II AE 1, Australian submarine, 29, 30, 32, 35 AE 2, Australian submarine, 29, 30, 32, 35 Agriculture, 228-9, 366, German, 81, 97-8, 106-13, 172, 181, 225-6, 231, 276-80, 284-6; native, 45, 182, 274-5 ALBERT EDWARD, MOUNT, 20 Ambitle Island (Map p. 10), position of, 13 AMERICA, see United States of AMERICA Anchorite Island (Map p. 10), ANDERSON, Maj. A F. (of Castle Hill, N.S.W.; b. St. Kilda, Vic.), (plate) 136 Anderson, Air Commodore W. H. (of Melbourne; b. Kew, Vic), 19911 Anebare (Map p. 140), position of, 138 Angaur Island (Map p. 4; Sk. p. 148), 30, 127, 148, 362, 369; position of, 138; mining for phosphate on, 141; Japanese occupy, 157-8; wireless station on, 163 Angorum (Plates p. 168; Sk. p. 167), position of, 167, 168; German police officer captured near, 172; garrison posted at, Dec. 1914, 171, strength, 301, removed from, 1915, 214, 200 Angriff's Harbour, 298 ANIR ISLANDS, 13, 14

Annear, 3854, Officers' Steward A. O., R.A.N. (of Elsternwick, Vic.; b. Campbell's Creek, Vic.),

Aorangi, Aust. supply-ship, 29; leaves Palm Island, 2 Sept. 1914, 30, Port Moresby, 7 Sept.,

APIA, 4, 5, 107, 111; German wireless station at, 45, 370; N.Z. force occupies, 45, 93

ARAGOEN, 310, 311

ARMSTRONG, Lt. H. P. (of Townsville, Q'land; b. Townsville), 33n

ARMY MEDICAL CORPS, see AUS-TRALIAN NAVAL & MILITARY Ex-PEDITIONARY FORCE, DISEASES, MEDICAL ARRANGEMENTS

ARTILLERY, see AUSTRALIAN NAVAL MILITARY EXPEDITIONARY Force, Fortifications

ARU ISLAND (Map p. 18), 17 ASHBURNER, Lt. H. P. W. (of Randwick, N.S.W.; b. Horsham, Sussex, Eng), 183

Sussex, Eng. 7, 103
Astrolabe Bay (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 108), 9, 11, 19, 20, 108, 298
Augar, W.-O. R., 373
Australia, H.M.A.S., 4, 34, 35, 70, 131, 361, 374, 376; leaves
Suva, 4 Sept. 1914, 33; in raid on New Britain, 12 Aug., 368, 371, capture of German New Guinea, 50, 51, 57, 72, 75, 86, 88; leaves Rabaul for Suva, 3 Oct., 129; captures Sumatra, 201 Australian Government, adopts British proposal for capture of German possessions in Pacific, 6; organises "Tropical Force" to occupy German islands in N.W. Pacific, 150-5, its instructions to Pethebridge, 155-6, Britain communications with ending in abandonment of project, 157-60; orders Pethebridge's force to New Guinea, 160-2; appoints Pethebridge to succeed Holmes, 182-3; its policy in regard to administration of German New Guinea, 91-4, 176, 178-9, 314, 338, 344, 362-6, finance, 235, 239, 241-8, land, 281-2, native affairs, Australian Government -contd. 227-33, 303-5, trade and commerce, 286-94, wireless, 162-3, 204-5, following on punishment for assault on British missionary, 260-1, in regard to Nauru, 142-3; instructions to Administrator, 161-2, 164, 261; mandate for German New Guinea conferred upon, 347-8, 349, The New Guinea Act 1920, 348-0; its rights under Peace Treaty to retain German property in German New Guinea, 350, discussions at Peace Conference, 350-2; appoints Royal Commission to visit New Guinea, 1919, 355-6, its report, 356-8; Expropriation Ordinance 1920, 344, 358-60.

Australian IMPERIAL FORCE, offered to Britain, 23; numbers of A.N. & M.E.F. subsequently enlist in, 189n; First Convoy,

362, 363

AUSTRALIAN Institute TROPICAL MEDICINE, 207, 364-5 AUSTRALIAN MILITARY FORCES-Infantry --INFANTRY: 211 d (Kennedy Regiment), 29, 31-33; see also Australian Naval & MILITARY EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (2nd Battalion)

Australian Naval & Military EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, 82, 91; decision to organise, 6; tormation and composition of, 23; Col. Holmes commands, 24; staff, 25, 180; leaves Sydney, 19 Aug. 1914, 28; assembles with convoy at Palm Island, 29, leaves, 30; arrives Port Moresby, 31, leaves for Rossel Island, 31-2; plans for attack on German New Guinea, 33-4; condition of troops before attack, 35; the landings on New Britain and advance to Bitapaka, 11 Sept. 1914, 53-68, 72, casualties, 73; Germans underestimate capacity of Australians in bush fighting, 73; plans for relief of Holmes's force. 175-80: reinforcements for, 170. Pethebridge 102: relieves

A N. & M.E.F .- continued.

Holmes in command of, 182-3, 184, 189; relations between original force and "Tropical" unit, 189-90; distribution of, March 1915, 197-8; strength of garrisons in administrative districts, 301; functions of district officers, 302-5; garrison life, 316-7, 329-32; see also Administration, New Guinea (German)—Administration Head-guarters, see Administration (Military)

—ARMY MEDICAL CORPS, 23, 25n, 53, 197; party lands at Kabakaul, 11 Sept. 1914, 58; detachments at Herbertshohe and Rabaul, 12 Sept., 74; at Madang, 24 Sept., 88; at Nauru, 6 Nov., 143; its work in German New Guinea, 207-18; see also Medical Arrangements

—Artillery, 68, 74, 78, 79; construction of battery on Matupi Island, 198-9, on

on Raluana Head, 343
—Infantry (Plates—1st Bn. pp. 26, 28, 30, 35, 76, 85, 136. 208; 3rd Bn., pp. 150, 158, 328. 340): 1st Battalion (NS.IV.), 78, 153n; organisation of, 23; command and staff, 25; enlistments in, 25-7; lands at Herbertshöhe, 11 Sept. 1914, 67-8; garrisons Rabaul and Herbertshöhe, 12 Sept. 74, Madang, 24 Sept., 88, Kawieng, 17 Oct., 115, Bougainville, 9 Dec., 118-9, Nauru, 6 Nov., 143-5; advances to Toma, 14 Sept., 79; retrieves German Government from Toma, 17-26 Sept., 40n; in capture of Komet, 131-3; plans for relief of, 175-80; relations with Tropical Force. 189-90; troops of, return to Australia, 189n, 193; re-enlistments in A.I.F., 189n; Petheorders inspection bridge baggage before its return to Sydney, 193-4. 2nd Battalion (Q'land), 29, 153n; embarks in Kanowna, 31; returns to Townsville, 32-3, 3rd Battalion A.N. & M.E.F.—continued.

(N.S.II'., Vic., Q'land, Aust.), 117, 179, 218; decision to form, 150; composition and command, 153, 198; see also Tropical Force below. 4th Battalion (N.S.W., Vic., Q'land, W. Aust.), 218 -MACHINE-GUN SECTIONS (Plates pp. 70, 73), 23, 25n, 72, 78, 115, 133, 134; in advance to Bitapaka, 11 Sept. 1914, 58, 64. at Herbertshohe, 67-8, 74; at Rabaul, 74; with expedition to Bougainville, 7-9 Dec., 118; in capture of Komet, 131, 133; at occupation of Nauru, 6 Nov., 143 -NAVAL BRIGADE (Plates pp. 31, 35, 73, 76), 30, 130, 164; organisation of, 23; command and staff, 27-8; party lands at Herbertshohe, II Sept. 1914, 50; in advance to Bitapaka, 11 Sept., 53-68, 72; garrisons Rabaul and Herbertshöhe, 12 Sept., 74, Madang, 24 Sept., 88, Lorengau, Nov., 117; Holmes's plans for the relief of, 179-80; returns to Australia, 189n. No. 3 Company, 72; in advance to Bitapaka, 57-8, 60-4, casualties, 61. No. 6 Company, 72; advances to Bitapaka and captures wireless station, 58, 64-7, casualties, 65

—Signalling Section, 23, 25n
—Supply, Transport, and
Ordnance Services, 180, 197
—Survey Section (Plates p.
284), formation and work of,
283-4

—Tropical Force, 161, 170, 177, 193, 317; decision to form, 150; composition, 153n; Pethebridge commands, 154; leaves Sydney, 28 Nov., 162; arrives Madang, 7 Dec., 165, Rabaul, 17 Dec., 174; relations with 1st Battalion, 189-90; see also 3rd Battalion above

-Wireless Details, their work at Nauru, 183-4, on stations at Rabaul and Bitapaka, 204-6, in administrative districts, 301-2; see also Wireless Telegraphy

Australian Navy: Naval Board, 105, 152, 157, 162, 164, 173, 198, 199, 205, 302, 334, 341; its suggested plans for occupation of German Pacific islands, 150-60. Australian Squadron, 75; enters Blanche Bay, 12 Aug. 1914, 38, 46, 49, 368, 369-70; plans for attack on German New Guinea, 33-4; reconnoitres for enemy warships off New Britain, 11 Sept., 50; parties from, land at Herbertshöhe, 11 Sept., 50-1, Kabakaul, 53, 57; leaves Rabaul, 3-4 Oct., 120. For land fighting, see Australian Naval & Military EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (NAVAL Brigade); see also under names of ships Austria, 369

Azores, 15

BAINING MOUNTAINS (Sketch p. 128), 12, 43, 46, 78, 80, 96, 128, 219, 370; position of, 41; types of native in, 225

Balbi, Mount, position of, 297

BALSILLIE, J. G., 163, 204
BANKS, savings bank opened at Rabaul, 237-8; branch of Commonwealth Bank at Rabaul, 242-5; see also Commonwealth BANK OF AUSTRALIA

Banks, Commr. G. J. (of Sydney; b. Brisbane), 334n, (plate) 340 Australian BATTALIONS. see Expedi-Naval MILITARY TIONARY FORCE

BATTLES, ENGAGEMENTS, ETC., see Kabakaul, New BITAPAKA, GUINEA (GERMAN) BATZE, H., 370

Breadsmore, Col. R. H. (of Strathfield, N.S.W.; b. Petersham, N.S.W.), (plate) 208

Belgium, 90, 124

BERESFORD, Commr. J. A. H. (of Laugharne, Melbourne; b. Wales), commands Naval Brigade, 28; lands at Kabakaul, 11 Sept., 58; garrisons Herberts-höhe, 12 Sept., 74; mentioned, 64, 68, 72, 73

BERGHAUSEN, First Lt. E., 367, 368

Berlin, 1, 37, 38, 96, 105, 106, 112, 113, 224, 237, 242, 261, 358; German Pacific islands in wireless touch with, 4

BERLIN HARBOUR, 11

Berrima, H.M.A.T. (Plates pp. 31, 85), v., 29, 35, 50, 53, 57, 59, 60, 657, V., 29, 35, 50, 53, 57, 59, 60, 67, 86, 88, 148, 149, 208, 362, 378, 381, 382; A.N. & M.E.F. embarks in, 18 Aug., 27-8; leaves Sydney, 19 Aug., 28, Palm Island, 2 Sept., 30, Port Moresby, 7 Sept., 31-2; troops from, disembark at Herbertshöhe and Rabaul, 68, 74

BINDER, G. F. M., 102, 103

BIRDS OF PARADISE, 313, 315; Australia prohibits importation of plumage of, 314; export from German New Guinea prohibited,

1921, 314
BISMARCK, Prince von, his policy of German colonisation in the Pacific, 1, 2, 106, 108, 231

BISMARCK ARCHIPELACO (Map p. 4; Sk. pp. 7, 13, 178), 2, 7, 12, 13, 14n, 21, 22, 45, 94, 107, 111, 120, 174, 219, 255, 273, 348; composition of, 11; see also Admiralty Islands, Duke of YORK ISLANDS, NEW BRITAIN, NEW IRELAND, NEW HANOVER

BISMARCK RANGE, 8

BITAPAKA WIRELESS STATION (Plate p. 204; Maps pp. 38, 52, 60; Sk. pp. 36, 41, 48, 52, 66), v, 44, 49, 146, 162, 185, 360, 367, 369, 370; construction of, 36, 37, 40; German plans for defence of, 42; German garrison at, 48; Australians advance on. and capture, 53-68, 72; constructed as a high-power station, 204-6

BLANCHE BAY (Plates pp. 17, 344; Maps pp. 38, 46, 52; Sk. pp. 12, 41, 45), 7, 18, 34, 45, 74, 79, 88, 110n, 111, 129, 131, 164, 174, 200, 201, 202, 218, 249, 273, 343; description of, 12; name, 20; Australian Squadron enters, 12 Aug. 1914, 38

Bogadjim, 299; position of, 298 Вом (Sk. p. 296), 297

Bond, Commr. T. A. (of Brisbane; b. Bishops Waltham, Hants, Eng.), lands at Kabakaul, 11 Sept. 1914, 58; advances to Bitapaka, 64-7; mentioned, 72, 74 Borneo (Maps pp. 4, 18), 15, 16

BOTANICAL GARDENS, 334-5; see

also AGRICULTURE

Bougainville Bay (Map p. 10), 9 BOUGAINVILLE ISLAND (Maps pp. 4, 10; Sk. pp. 118, 178), 14, 19, 22, 117, 127n, 137, 164, 176, 219, 225, 228, 307; expedition to, 7-9 Dec. 1914, 118-9; garrison in, 178; lack of good roads in, 207; punitive expedition against cannibal chiefs in, Oct. 1915, 308-10 BOUGAINVILLE STRAIT, 19

Bowen, Commr. R. G. (of Melbourne; b. Taggerty, Vic.), in advance to Bitapaka, II Sept. 1914, 53-5, 57, 58, 59, wounded, 60; mentioned, vii, 61, 62, 63,

67, 74 Bowu, Native Chief, 308-9 Bracegirdle, Capt. L. S. (of Sydney; b. Balmain, N.S.W.), 28, 164, 165, 170, 179, (plate) 73 Bridges, Maj.-Gen. Sir W. T. (b.

Greenock, Scotland), 23n

BRIGADES, see Australian Naval EXPEDITIONARY MILITARY Force (Naval Brigade)

Brisbane, 28, 262, 339

British Government, repudiates Queensland's annexation non-Dutch New Guinea, 1883, 1; suggests seizure of German wireless stations in Pacific, Aug. 1914, 5-6; mandate for Nauru conferred upon, 147

British Law, see Administration (MILITARY), LAW (BRITISH)

British Navy, Falkland Islands Battle, 177; China Squadron, 148, 150-1; see also under names of ships, and Australian Navy BROKEN WATER BAY (Map p. 10),

Brown, Capt. E. T. (of Mclbourne; b. Melbourne), 272 Browne, Commr. G. L. (b. Clewer,

Berks, Eng.), 28

Bruce, Lt-Col H. L. (of Inverell, N.S.W.; b. Bowning, N.S.W.), (plate) 136

BUILDINGS, at H.Q. of administrative districts, 300-1

Buka, str., 200; Germans sink, near Kieta, Nov. 1914, 119-20 BUKA ISLAND (Maps pp. 4, 10),

19, 22; description of, 14 BUKA STRAITS, 343; position of,

Buller, Lt.-Commr. R. L. (of Moonee Ponds, Vic.; b Geelong, Vic.), in advance to Bitapaka, 11 Sept. 1914, 53; mentioned, 57,

59, 60, 63, 67 BULUMINSKI, —, German District

Officer, 295, 296, 300

Burns, Philp, & Co., Ltd., 356; its trade with New Guinea, 286, 292; Government's policy in regard to, 287-9, 291-2; Wolf

captures Matunga, 339-41 Burrows, Commr. W. (b. Crediton, Devon, Eng.), 339, 341

BUTLER, Col. A. Graham, vii BYRNE, Lt.-Col. G. C. (of Bur-wood, N.S.W.; b. Secunderabad, lndia), 88, 211

CAINS, Capt. A. W. (of Sydney; b. Newcastle, N.S.W.), 339

CAIRNS, 333

CALLISTERS, Father, 166n CAMEROONS, THE, expropriation of German properties in, 355

CAMISIERS, Brother, 166n CAMPBELL, 3046 Pte. J. W., 32nd Bn., A.I.F. (of Adelaide; b.

Ballarat, Vic.), 308, 309 CAPE HORN, 17.

Good Cape OF Норе (New GUINEA), 16

Good (South Hope CAPE OF Africa), 15

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, 255, 269; not inflicted on natives without Administrator's confirmation, 303

CAPITULATION, TERMS OF, 82-5; of, and review of clauses criticism in Australia, 90-104; see also Law, New GUINEA (GERMAN)

Carola, motor-ketch, 200, 298

CAROLINE ISLANDS (Maps pp. 4, 18; Sk. p. 7), 3, 4, 5, 7, 94, 106, 117, 138, 174, 255, 289, 362; natives recruited from for work on Nauru, 141; British Government urges occupation of, 13 Oct. 1914, 151, Australian pre-parations, 152-60, project aban-doned, 160; Japan occupies, 185; see also YAP CARPENTARIA. GULF OF (Map p.

18), 17

CARTERET ISLANDS (Map p. 10), position of, 14

CASUALTIES-

-Australian, in Bitapaka advance, 61, 65, 73, first Australian shot in war (Able Seaman Williams), 58, 59; from sickness, Jan. 1915, 210

-GERMAN, in Bitapaka ad-

vance, 54, 74

NATIVE, in Bitapaka advance, 62, 65-6, 74; in punitive expedition on Bougainville Island, Oct. 1915, 309, 310; at Aragoen, July, 311; on Dampier Island,

Aug., 312 CELEBES (Maps pp. 4, 18), 15 CEMETERY, at Rabaul, (plate) 324 CHAMBERS, Capt. L. K. (of Mosman, N.S.W.), 172 CHARLTON, Capt. F. R. (of Bris-

bane: b. Maryborough, Q'land),

283

CHINA STRAIT (Map p. 10), 20 Chinese, 53, 63, 318; at Nauru, 141, 142

CHOISEUL ISLAND (Map p. 4), 22 Clarke, Petty Officer G. I., RAN.B. (b. Newhaven, Sussex, Eng.), 116

CLARKE, Cpl. J. B. (of Dawes Point, N.S.W.; b. Dundee, Scotland), 172

CLOTHING, shortage of in issues to Kennedy Regt., 31

COAL, German stations for, in Pacific, 1914, 4 COBBETT, Dr Pitt, 262

COCKATOO ISLAND (Plates pp. 30, 31), 27

Cocos Islands, 151

COLHOUN, Capt. J. S. (of Melbourne; b. Footscray, Vic.), (plate) 266

COLLIER, Lt. C. T. (of Roseville, N.S.W.; b. Geurie, N.S.W.), (plate) 208

Collins, Lt. H. C. (b. Kensington, Eng.), 191

COMMERCE, Germany develops, in Pacific, 3-4, 231; operations and growth of companies in German New Guinea, 106-13; control of, under Aust. military administration, 286-94; in copra, 276, 285, 288-93; in birds-of-paradise plumes, 313-5

COMMERSON ISLAND (Map p. 10), 13

COMMONWEALTH BANK OF AUS-TRALIA, 239, 241, 246, 247, 240; branch opens at Rabaul, 15 Apr. 1916, 242-5, (plate) 246; co-operates with administrator re trade, 290-4

Conferences, Intercolonial, suggests annexation of non-Dutch New Guinea, 1883, 21; between Holmes and Haber, 15 Sept. 1914, to settle terms of surrender, 79-80, 17 Sept., 81-2; between naval and military authorities, 26 Oct., re plans for occupation German possessions north of equator, 151-2

Consett. Rear-Adm. M. W. W. P., 289n

Coombes, 5032 Petty Officer (actg. Warrant Officer) W. E., R.A.N. (b. Penryn, Cornwall, Eng.), 1991

Cormoran, old Ger. cr., 4

Cormoran, converted merchantman, Ger., 88-9

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, see DIS-CIPLINE, LAW

COURTMAN, 1109 W.-O. C. C., A.N. & M.E.F. (of Sydney; b. Little Batlow, Essex, Eng.), 116 Courtney. Able Seaman J., see

WALKER, J. E. Cox, Rev. W. H., Germans assault, at Namatanai, 26 Oct. 1914, 120-6, legal aspect and international consequences following on punishment of perpetrators, 259-62; mentioned, 257, 266

CRATER PENINSULA (Map p. 46). 12, 45

Cresswell, Elec.-Commr. F. G. (of Frankston, Vic.; b. Camberwell, Vic.), vii, 146, (plate) 92

CRESWELL, Vice-Adm. Sir W. (of Silvan, Vic.; b. Gibraltar), 151 CRIMINAL Law, see (CRIMINAL)

Crown Prince Mountains, position of, 297

CUMBERLEGE,

Rear-Adm. C. L. (b. London), in Sepik River expeditions, 9-12 Dec. 1914, 167-8, 14-27 Dec., 171-3; mentioned, 53, 57, 165, 169, 198, 299 CUMMINS, Lt.-Col. J. J. (of Been-

Q'land; leigh, Ъ. Leighlin Bridge, Co. Carlow, Ireland), vii, 283, 284, (plate) 266

DALLMANN HARBOUR, 298

DAMPIER ISLAND (Map p. 10), 9, 311, 312; position of, 18; punitive expeditions against natives on, Aug. 1915, 311-2

DAMPIER STRAIT (Map p. 10), 14, 341; name and position of, 18

DAR-ES-SALAAM, 3

DARMOO, 310 DARNLEY ISLAND, 19

DEAR, 2375 Sqn.-Sgt.-Maj. J. T., 14th L.H. Regt. (of Northcote, Vic.; b. Geelong, Vic.), 308

DEFENCE, IMPERIAL, COMMITTEE OF,

Defences, German Governor's plan for New Guinea, 41-5; A N. & M E.F. garrisons Rabaul and Herbertshöhe, 12 Sept. 1914, 74, Madang, 24 Sept., 88, Kawieng, 17 Oct., 115, Lorengau, Nov., 117, Bougainville, 9 Dec., 118-9, Nauru, 6 Nov., 143-5; battery constructed on Matupi Island, 198-9, Raluana Head, 343, (plate) 344; for port of Rabaul, 199; measures taken by Col. Toll, 324-6, examination of German houses for firearms, 325-6, 327, prevention of leakage of intelligence, 325; see also Australian Naval & Military EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, FORTIFI-CATIONS

DENMARK, 280n

D'Entrecasteaux Islands (Map p. 10), 8, 20; Britain proclaims protectorate over, 1884, 2; name, 19

Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft, 107, 110-1

DISCIPLINE, of troops, 190, 195, 316, 329; of natives, 48, 97-8, 181-2, 220, 226, 229, 307, 311, under fire, 64, 73, 80, 81, corporal punishment, 232-3, 364; see also Capital Punishment Diseases, dysentery, 81, 192, 210, 211, 213, 214-5; malaria, 81, 192, 209, 338, 341, efforts to combat, 210-1, epidemic abates, Feb.1915, 212, 214; dhobi itch, 215-6; pneumonia, 210; prickly heat, 215; ringworm, 215; among sycosis, 215; New Guinea natives, 216-8; measles on Te Anau, Dec. 1915, 218; see also Medical Arrangements Döllinger, A., 119

Donaldson, Capt. Τ. Vaucluse, N.S.W.; b. Wilcannia, N.S.W.), 25n, 143, (plate) 208 Dovey, 564 Sgt. W. R., 1 Bn., A.N. & M.E.F. (of Geurie, N.S.W.; b. Bathurst, N.S.W.), (plate) 208 Duke of York Islands (Maps pp. 38, 52; Sk. pp. 50, 111), 2, 22, 50, 107, 108, 110-1, 121, 273, 330; position of, 13-14 Dukour, position of, 128

D'URVILLE, CAPF, 19

EARTHQUAKES, 329, (plate) 324 East Africa, German, 3; expropriation of German properties in, 355

EAST CAPE, KAISER WILHELM'S LAND (Map p. 10), 20

Eastern, H.M.A.T., 117, 118, 146, 154, 157, 161, 163, 164, 166, 169, 170, 171, 177, 179, 183, 184, 189, 190, 191, 194, 195, 198, 204, 209, 211, 212, 239, 264; leaves Sydney, 28 Nov. 1914, 162; arrives Madang, 7 Dec., 165, Rabaul, 17 Dec., 174; distributes relief garrisons, Dec. 1914, 178; arrives Rabaul with reinforcements, 1 Feb. 1915, 192; leaves Rabaul, 10 Feb., for Sydney, 193

East Indies, Dutch, 13, 322, 370, 371

EASTMAN, Able Seaman L. S., A.N. & M.E.F. (of Melbourne;

b Fitzroy, Vic.), 54 EATHER, Capt. T. R. L., (of Syd-

266

ney; b. Guyra, N.S.W.), (plate)

EDWARDS, Capt. G. M. (of Ashfield, N.S.W.; b. Waverley, N.S.W.), (plate) 208 EGYPT, 1, 23n EHEMANN, —, 371 EITAPE (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 11), 120, 197, 201, 264, 299, 313, 314, 315, 327; position of, 11, 200; area of administrative district of, 295; lack of good roads, 298; strength of garrison at, 301 EITEL, 45 Cpl. C. C., A N. & M.E.F. (of Sydney; b. Neutral Bay, N.S.W.), 66 Elax, oil tanker, 164, 169 ELLICE ISLANDS, 142; German trading station in, 106 ELWELL, Lt-Commr. C. B. B. (of Albrighton, Shropshire, Eng.), in Bitapaka advance, 11 Sept. 10), 8 1914, 58, 60-3, killed, 63-4; mentioned, 28, 74 Emden, S.M.S., 4, 88n EMPEROR MOUNTAINS, position of, 297 Encounter, H.M.A.S. (Plate p. 35), 4, 29, 30, 31, 35, 50, 78, 86, 88, 129, 150, 151, 162, 361; shells hills near Toma, 79, 80; searches for Matunga, 341 New ENEMY TERRITORY, See Law GUINEA (GERMAN), (INTERNATIONAL) 212 English Cove, 18 EQUIPMENT, shortage of, in A.N. & M E.F., 28-9 FALKLAND ISLANDS, BATTLE OF, Fantome, H M.A.S., 118, 151, 173, 184 FARM COVE, 28 FEAD ISLANDS (Map p. 10), 14 Feni Islands (Map p 10), 13, 14 Forsayth Gesellschaft, 112 FERGUSSON ISLAND (Map p. 10), Fiebig, Lt. E. E., 373 FIELD-MARTELL, Capt. H H. (of Sydney and Fremantle; Ballarat, Vic.), 168, 212

Fiji Islands (Map p 4), 17, 142 FINANCE, German Treasury tunds distributed among commercial companies at outbreak of war, 39, reclaimed, 44; other Government funds buried near Toma, 44, A.N. & M.E.F. recovers, Sept. 1914, 40n; arrangement between Holmes and Haber for payment of ex-officials, 100-4; royalty on Nauruan phosphate, 140; collection of head-tax from natives, 226-7, 303-5, (plate) 304; German money, amounts taken over by military administration, 236, how distributed, Feb. 1915, 239-40; retention of German currency and work of Treasury, under military administration, 234-46; change to Australian currency, 246-50; Commonwealth Bank establishes branch at Rabaul, 15 April 1916, 242-5, co-operates with Administrator re trade, 290-4 FINISTERRE MOUNTAINS (Map p.

Finlayson, Capt. J. F. Leichhardt, N.S.W.; b. (of ney), 52, 56; lands at Herbertshöhe, 11 Sept. 1914, 51 FINSCH HARBOUR (Map p. 10; Sk.

pp. 11, 108), 21, 22, 108; position of, 9

FISHER, Lt. A. D. (of Sydney; b North Sydney), 143

FITZGERALD, Lt.-Commr. G. P. M. (b. Kensington, London), 184 FITZHERBERT, Lt.-Col. R. (of Sydney; b. Launceston, Tas.),

FLAGS, see Union Jack, White

FLOGGING, see DISCIPLINE, LAW (International)

FLOOD, Lt.-Col. J. W. (of Brinkworth, S. Aust.; b. Yorketown, S. Aust.), 212, 339

FLY RIVER (Map p. 10), 9, 19, 20 FORDE, Maj. W. G. (of Brisbane; b. Cloyne, Co. Cork, Ireland), 212

FORTIFICATION POINT, 21

Fortifications-

-British, at Matupi Island. 198-9, Raluana Head. (plate) 344

FORTIFICATIONS—continued. -GERMAN, observation posts: Bay, 369. Mount Blanche Raluana, Mother. 45, Vunadidir, 49; trenches: across Kabakaul-Bitapaka road. 55,

first trench, 59-60, 62-5, second, 65, 72, third, 65-6
—See also Defences, Mines

France, 1, 37, 39
French Islands, 14; see also
Witu Islands

FRENCH NAVY, see Montcalm FRIEDRICH WILHELM HARBOUR, 11, 12, 85, 108, 120, 137, 161, 164, 370; A.N. & M.E.F. occupies, 24 Sept. 1914, 86-7, 382-3; see also

MADANG FRY, Maj. (tempy. Lt.-Col.) W. A. Le R. (of Sydney; b. Bourke, N.S.W.), 129, 180; becomes Treasurer, 235

Gabriel, Ger. Mission str., 162, 164, 165, 370; Cumberlege detains at

Madang, 166-7 GARDINER, W. A. & Co., 292

GARDNER ISLANDS (Map p. 10; Sk. pp. 116, 296), 14, 296; position of, 116; Siar captured at, Oct. 1914, 116, 201 GARRAN, Sir Robert, vii

GASMATTA (Maps pp. 10, 38), administrative district consti-

tuted at, 343 Gayundah, H.M.A.S., 155

GAZELLE, CAPE (Maps pp. 38, 52; Sk. pp. 36, 50), 36, 37, 50, 53 Gazelle Peninsula (Maps pp. 38, 52), 12, 37, 41, 199, 225, 297, 330; name, 21; topography of, 36

GEELVINK BAY, 16, 19 Geier, S.M.S., 4, 137, 152 GERARD, James W., 261n

ARMY, reservists GERMAN Rabaul called up, 6 Aug. 1914, 40, (plates) 44, 46; plans for defence of German New Guinea, 46-9; troops attempt to stop advance on Bitapaka, casualties, 74; numbers captured in first trench, 64, in second trench, 65, near Bitapaka wireless station, 66; New Guinea force surrenders, 21 Sept., 85-6, (plate) 81

New Colonies, see GERMAN GUINEA (GERMAN), PACIFIC

GOVERNMENT, annexes GERMAN portion of New Guinea, 1884-9, 22; administration of native affairs in New Guinea, 220-7, 232-3; see also New GUINEA (GERMAN)

GERMAN LAW, see LAW (GERMAN) GERMAN NAVY, 163; naval base and coaling stations of, in Pacific, 4; Pacific Squadron, 41, 67, 127, 138, 152, 361, 362, composition, Aug. 1914, Patey's anxiety to engage, 148-9. destroyed near Falkland Islands, 177; see also under names of ships

GERMAN NEW GUINEA. see NEW

Guinea (German)

GERMANS, attitude towards miliadministration, 318-28; tary interned by Col. Toll, July 1915, 325, released, Aug., 326; numbers of, deported to Australia, II Aug., 326; see also Ger-MANY, MISSIONARIES
GERMAN TRADING & PLANTATIONS

Company, 3, 93, 292

GERMANY, 37, 39, 90, 91; connection with New Guinea, history of, 1-4, 7-8, 20-2; Bismarck's policy of colonisation in Pacific, 1, 2, 106, 108, 231, apprehensions of Queensland Govt., I, 21; develops trade in the Pacific, 3-4, 231; position of, under terms of capitulation, 90-4, 348-9; repatriation of officials from New Guinea, 96-7, 100-4; protest of, in Cox affair. 261-2; renounces rights over colonies, under Peace Treaty. 348

GERRIT DENYS (LIHIR) ISLANDS,

GIBB, 2510 Pte. J., 4th Dépôt Unit of Supply, A.I.F. (of Elizabeth Bay, N.S.W.; b. New Macher, Aberdeenshire, Scotland), 333n GIBRALTAR, 18

GILBERT ISLANDS (Map p. 4; Sk. p. 139), 139, 142; German trading station in, 106

GILLAM, Lt.-Commr. O. W. (of Newcastle, N.S.W.; b. Albany, W. Aust.) in Bitanaka advance W. Aust.), in Bitapaka advance, 11 Sept. 1914, 58, 60-4; mentioned, vii, 73, 180, 191, (plate) 73 GILOLO, 16 GIRA RIVER, 299n GIRE GIRE (Map p. 52; Sk. p. 68), 69, 379, 380; position of, 68 GLOSSOP, Vice-Adm. J. C. T. (of Bridport, Dorset, Eng.; b. Twickenham, Middlesex, Eng.), Eng. 30, 33 Gneisenau, S.M.S., 4, 361 Goadby, Lt.-Col. B. T. (b. Bobena, India), 198n, 278, (plate) 73 Godeffroy & Son, 110, 111, 231; operations of, in Pacific, 106-7 GOODENOUGH ISLAND, 19 GOODSELL, Maj. S. P. (of Parra-N.S.W.; b. Newtown, matta. N.S.W.), 25n, (plates) 70, 136 GOVERNMENT PRINTER, see Aus-NAVAL & MILITARY TRALIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, NEWS-PAPERS GRAHAM BROS. PTY., 331n Grantala, Hosp. ship, arrives in Simpson Harbour, 13 Sept. 1914, 75 GRANT THOROLD, see THOROLD
GREAT BARRIER REEF, 29
GRIBBLE, Gunner T. J., R.N. (b.
Thorverton, Devon, Eng.), 198n
GRIFFITHS, Brig.-Gen. T. (of Melbourne; b. Presteigne, Radnor, Wales), takes over administratorship from Gen. Johnston, 344; hands over to Wisdom, 360; becomes Administrator of Nauru, 147n, 360 Gronel, 312 GUAM ISLAND (Map p. 4), 369; Cormoran interned at, 89 Guns, see Australian Naval & MILITARY EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (ARTILLERY)

HABER, Dr E., acting Governor of German New Guinea, 37; his plans for defence of Bitapaka, 42; his reply to Patey's letter of 11 Sept. 1914, 69-70, 375-6, to Col. Holmes, 13 Sept., 78, 380-2; discusses terms of surrender, 15 Sept., 79-80; arranges terms of capitulation, 17 Sept., 81-2, (plate) 81; arrangements Haber, Dr E.—continued.
with Holmes re payment to exofficials, 100-4; mentioned, viii, 38, 40n, 43, 46, 57, 66, 67, 75, 85, 86, 87, 89, 94, 95, 96-7, 127, 128, 129, 150, 261 HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE 1007.

91, 99, 252, 253, 350 HAHL, -, Governor of Ger. New Guinea, 224

HAHL MOUNTAINS, 297 HALL SOUND, 20

HAMBURG, 107, 112, 113, 237, 256, 358

HAMBURG SOUTH SEA COMPANY. 112, 292

Hampshire, H.M.S., destroys wire-less station at Yap, 12 Aug. 1914, 45, 148, 371n

HARCUS, Maj. J. L. (of Manly, N.S.W.; b. Westray, Orkney Islands), in Bitapaka advance, 11 Sept. 1914, 58, 64, 66; mentioned, 25**n, 7**2

HARDINGE, Lt.-Telegraphist C. W.,

HARDY, Capt. H. N. M. (of London; b. South Kensington, London), 162, 168
HENLEY, Capt. H. L. (of Drummoyne, N.S.W.; b. Balmain,

N.S.W.), (plate) 208

HENDERSON, Capt. J. K. (of Sydney; b. London), (plate) 208

HERBERTSHOHE (Plates pp. 8, 199, 200, 202, 207, 208, 210, 212, 273, 278, 324, 325, 367, 369, 370, 371, 374, 376, 377, 378; plans for occupation of, 33-4; German garrison at, 49; Aust. naval reserves land at, 11 Sept. 1914, 60; Union Jack hoisted at, 11 Sept., 52, (plate) 180; infantry lands at, 67-8; A.N. & M.E.F. garrisons, 74, 178, 197, 301; Holmes and Haber discuss terms of surrender at, 70-82, (plate) 81

Heritage, Brig. F. B. (b. River Don, Tasmania), reads proclamation of military occupation of German New Guinea, 13 Sept.

HERITAGE, Brig. F. B -continued. 1914, 76; occupies Kawieng, 17 Oct., 115, captures Star, 18 Oct., 116; takes expedition to Admiralties and Western Islands, Nov., 117; mentioned, vii, 25, 78, 120, 180, 189, 191, 193, 195, 196, 386, (plate) 92

HERITAGE, Capt. K. (of Launceston and Strahan, Tas.; b. Longford, Tas.), 25n, 180 HERMIT ISLANDS (Map p. 10)

13, 89, 322, 323 HERNSHEIM & Co., 111, 292

HEXT, Capt. A. P. (of Melbourne; b. Ipswich, Q'land), 117, 192 HILL, Lt.-Commr. G. A. (of Coogee, N.S.W.; b. Edgbaston, Birmingham, Eng.), in Bitapaka advance, 11 Sept. 1914, 57, 60, 62, 63-4

HISTORY OF NEW GUINEA, 15-22: sce alsoGERMANY, New

Guinea

HOLLANDIA, position of, 314 HOLMES, Lt.-Col. B. (of Sydney; b Sydney), 25n, 75, 116, 180 Holmes, Maj.-Gen. W. Sydney; b. Sydney), commands A.N. & M.E.F., 24; biography and estimate of, 24-5; recommends discharge of volunteers from Kennedy Regiment, 31-2; with Patey plans discusses for attack on German New Guinea, demands for-33-4; mal of German surrender New Guinea, 12 Scpt. 1914, 75, 378; his proclamation of military occupation, 76-8, 384-6; arranges terms of surrender with Haber, 79-82; review of his terms of capitulation, 91-104, criticism in Australia, 90-1, 95, appointed Administrator, 105; organises military administration, 114-5; accompanies expedition to Madang, 22-26 Sept., 86-8; his report on situation, 11 Dec., 120; action in Cox affair, 124-6, 259-62; institutes search for Komet, 129-31, report of capture, 136-7; garrisons Nauru, 143-6; his plans for occupation of islands north of equator, 148; requests return to Australia, 175. HOLMES. Maj.-Gen. W.-contd. Pethebridge to relieve, 183, 184; plans for relief of original force, 175-80; his achievement as administrator, 181-2, 184-8, 256, 263; advocates retention of German currency, 235, 239; hands over to Pethebridge, 8 Jan. 1915, 189; leaves New Jan. 1915, 169; leaves Aven Guinea, 189, 209; quoted, 35, 73-4; mentioned, v, vi, 28, 30, 32, 67, 68, 71, 72, 85, 88, 89, 117, 118, 127, 138, 153, 157n, 161 et seq., 169, 170, 171, 174, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 199, 205, 207, 208, 211, 212, 237, 238, 258, 264, 266, 267, 277, 278, 287, 326, 333, 359, 362, 377, (plates) 23, 34, 70, 76, 92

Hong Kong, 201, 288 HOSPITALS, see MEDICAL ARRANGE MENTS

Hospital Ship, see Grantala Maj -Gen. Hon Sir Howse. Neville, Й.С. (of Orange, N S.W.; b. Stogursey, Somerset, Eng), 25, 209; organises medical services in German New Guinea, 207-8 HUGHES, Rt. Hon. W. M., 261

355, 358

Huguet, Rear-Adm. A. L. M., 79 HUMBOLDT BAY (Map p. 10), 19

314, 315, 324, 327, 370 HUNT, Atlee A. (of Armadale Baroondah, Fitzroy Vic.; b.

River, Q'land), 356
Hunt, Capt. J. H. (of Sydney;
b. Burwood, N.S.W.), 283
HUNTER, Lt.-Commr. W. D. (of Surrey Hills, Vic.; b. Melbourne), 61, 62, (plate) 73

Huon Gulf (Map p. 10), 11, 169; position of, 9

INDIA, 15

INFANTRY, see Australian Naval EXPEDITIONARY & MILITARY Force

INTELLIGENCE (BRITISH), of wireless stations in New Britain, 52 INTERNATIONAL LAW, see LAW (INTERNATIONAL)

INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS, see Peace Conference

ISLAND TERRITORY, THE, see NEW (GERMAN), PACIFIC Guinea OCEAN

JACKSON, Commr. J. M., King's Harbour-master at Rabaul, 129; captures Komet. Oct. 1914, 130-7; mentioned, 192, 198n, 205, 326 Jaluit Gesellschaft, 140; trading operations of, in Marshall Islands and Nauru, 139 ISLAND (Map Jaluit p. German wireless station on, 163 JAPAN, 42; enters war, 52; riots in Tokyo cause abandonment of North-West Pacific Expedition, 160 JAPANESE NAVY, 89; marines land at Yap, 7 Oct. 1914, 149; co-operates with British Navy in northern Pacific, 150, 160 JAVA ISLAND (Map p. 18), 251, 288 JENKINS, Lt. A. W. (of Sydney; b. Birmingham, Eng.), 308, 309 JOHNSON, Maj. H. W. (of North Sydney; b. Black Springs, N.S.W.), (plate) 136 JOHNSTON, Maj.-Gen. G. J. (of Melbourne; b. Melbourne), becomes Administrator of German New Guinea, 342; Gen. Griffiths relieves, 344; mentioned, 329n, 332, 343, 357, (plate) 340 JOLLEY, Capt. F. R. (of Sydney and Rabaul; b. Prahran, Vic.) interned by Germans, Aug. 1914, 46, released, 116; mentioned. 115, 368 Jose, A. W., vii Justice, see Law (Justice) KABAKAUL (Plates, frontispiece, p. 9; Map p. 60; Sk. pp. 36, 52, 68), 36, 49, 52, 206; the landing at, 11 Sept. 1914, v, vi, 53-68, 72; Germans attempt to arrest advance from, 54-7 KABANUT (Sk. p. 296), 297 KAISERIN AUGUSTA RIVER, 9, 161; see also Sepik River KAISER WILHELM'S LAND (Map p. 10), 2, 22, 94, 120, 174, 348; topography of, 8-11; see also New Guinea (German) Kalili, 371
KALILI HARBOUR, position of, 120
Kanowna, H.M.A.T., 153n, 235;
transports volunteers of Kennedy Regt., 29; sent back to Townsville, 31-3 KARAVAT RIVER (Map p. 52; Sk. p. 41), 43; position of, 41

KARAVIA BAY (Maps pp. 46, 52; Sk. p. 50), 50, 57 KARKAR (DAMPIER) ISLAND, 9, 18 KARU (Sk. p. 296), position of, 297 KAUMUMU, 308
KAWIENG (Plate p. 13; Map p. 10; Sk. pp. 11, 116, 178, 296), 46, 116, 119, 120, 137, 176, 192, 197, 203, 207, 210, 212, 296, 297, 300, 306, 326n; position of, 13, 200; Australians occupy, 17 Oct., 115; area of administrative district of, 295; strength of garrison at, 301
KEI ISLAND (Map p. 18), 17
KEMBER, 7735 Leading-Stoker W.,
R.A.N. (of Canley Vale. N.S.W.; b. Scaynes Hill, Sussex, Eng.), vii, 58, 59 KEMPF, Lt. E. E., captured, 64; document found on, 373; mentioned, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62, 65, 66 KENNEDY REGIMENT, see AUSTRA-LIAN NAVAL & MILITARY Ex-PEDITIONARY FORCE (INFANTRY-2nd Battalion) Kerler, A. H. extracts from diary of, 367-8 Kershaw, Capt. R. C. (of North Sydney; b. Whittlesea, Vic.), (plate) 266 Кілоснао, 3, 4, 369 Kieta (Plates pp. 216, 308; Map p. 10; Sk. p. 178), 14, 137, 176, 192, 202, 203, 210, 212, 297, 307, 308; A.N. & M.E.F. occupies, 118-9, (plates) 118; distance from Rabaul, 200; area of ad-ministrative district of, 295; garrison at, 301 KIETA HARBOUR, 200 Кікі, 308, 309, 310 KIMADAN (Šk. p. 296), 296 KLEPPEK, L. A., 371 KLEWITZ, Capt. K. G. A. von, commands German forces in New Guinea, 42, 48; Haber with, 16 Sept., 81; confers accompanies Haber to Herbertshohe and witnesses terms of capitulation, 17 Sept., 81-2, 85; surrenders troops, 21 Sept., 85-6; mentioned, viii, 43, 56, 64n, 66, 70, 71, 741, 95, 96, 373, 377, (plate) 81 Knowles, G. S., vii KNOX, Rt. Hon. Sir Adrian. vii

(Herbertshöhe). 273. 300, 301, 326, 330, 332n, 339; position of, 12 Kolonial Gesellschaft, Ger. str., 85 Komalu (Sk. p. 296), 297; position of, 296 Комви, Моинт (Plate p. 17), position of, 45; see also Mother Komet, S.M.S. (Plate p. 129), 34, 37, 38, 44, 46, 118, 151, 157, 192, 196, 370; movements, Aug.-Oct. 1914, 127-9; expedition sent to capture, 129-31, captured, 131-7; to Sydney for refitting, 149; becomes H.M.A.S. Una, 152 KOMETHAFEN (Map p. 38; Sk. p. 128), position of, 128
KOMINE, 1., 369; accompanies expedition in capture of Komet, 132, 135 Komuli, British flag hoisted at, Nov. 1914, 117 Koolanga, Aust. collier, 32 Kosher, P. R. J., 373

LABOUR, recruiting of natives for, British control, 227, 229, 232-3, 328-9, 363-4, German control, 226, 228-32; see also NATIVES LABUR (Sk. p. 296), 123, 297 LADRONE ISLANDS, 158; see also MARIANNE ISLANDS

Krätke Mountains (Map p. 10),

LALET PLATEAU, 296 LAMBERT, CAPE (Maps pp. 10,

38), position of, 85 LAMBTON, Commr. R. S. (of Sydney; b. Glebe, N.S.W.), 28, 179, (plate) 76

Policy, German, LAND 273-4, 275-6; military administration's, 277-86; of natives, 274-5; expropriation of German estates.

344, 358-60 LANE, Maj. C. H. D. (of Sydney;

b. Bondi, N.S.W.), 25n LANE, Capt. J. B. (of Strathfield, N.S.W., b. Petersham, N.S.W.), (plate) 208

LAPAPIRI, Native Chief, 308, 309 LAVONGAI, 296; see also New

HANOVER Law, corporal punishment of natives, 232-3, Aust. Government prohibits, 364; ordinances issued by Holmes, 258-9, by Pethebridge, 267-9; prosecution under War Precautions order, 319-20; Law-continued. trial of master of Moewe, 322-3

with comparison -British, German law, 105-6, 114-5, 227, 229, 231-3, 251-9, 264-71, 363-4 -CRIMINAL, 99; smuggling of birds-of-paradise plumage, 313-5 —German, 105, 114-5; system in operation in New Guinea, 251, 254-5; comparison with British law, 264-7; modified form adopted by Military Administramodified form tion, 267-71, 305-6, 328-9, for protection of natives, 227, 229, 232-3, 363-4 -International, legal position concerning capitulation. terms of capitulation, 82-5, rights of occupant, 91-2, 251-3, Holmes's interpretation, 99-100; legal aspect of use of German prisoner, under threat, 55n; punishment of Germans for assault on English missionary, 125-6, its legal aspect, 259-60 -JUSTICE, German procedure, 255, 265-6; procedure under Military Administration, 256-9. 267-72 -MARTIAL, Col. Toll proclaims, 23 July 1915, 325-6, ceases 11 Aug., 326 —Šec also ADMINISTRATION,

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, NATIVES, Proclam ations LAYCOCK, Capt. F. (of St. Peters,

S. Aust.; b. Adelaide), 339, (plate) 266 LEACH, Lt H. N. (of Brisbane),

(plate) 304

LEAGUE OF NATIONS, Treaty of Versailles constitutes, 345-6; system of mandates under. 346-7; establishment of mandate under, for German New Guinea, 347, 348, 349, for Nauru, 147; see also PEACE Treaty

LEDERER. Dr P., 371; his letter, 12 Sept., to Col Holmes. 379-80

Legge, Lt.-Gen. J. G. (of Sydney; b. London), organises A.N. & M.EF, 23, 24; issues orders for Sepik expedition, 161-2; his plans for relief of Holmes's force, 176; mentioned, 25, 151, 183

LEHMAIER, Lt.-Col. L. H., sec Lemaire (plate) 208
Lespzig, S.M.S., 4
Lemaire, Lt.-Col. L. H. (of Sydney), (plate) 208

The sydney, (plate) 208

The sydney, (plate) 208

The sydney, (plate) 208 Lewin, Rear-Adm. C. La P. (of Frant, Sussex, Eng.; b. Black-heath, Kent, Eng.), 129-30 LIHIR (GERRIT DENYS) ISLANDS (Map p. 10), 14 Limbrock, Father, 166n Litta, mission schooner, 123 LIVERPOOL CAMP (N.S.W.), 154, 162, (plate) 150 London, 1, 23, 157 Looting, Pethebridge's orders re, and enquiry into charges of, 103-6 Lorengau (Plate p. 316), 13, 176, 184, 191, 192, 197, 203, 298, 300; British flag hoisted at, Nov. 1914, 117; distance from Rabaul, 200; garrison at, 301 Lorengau, Ger. motor-ketch, 200 LOUISIADE ARCHIPELAGO (Maps pp. 10, 18; Sk. p. 30), 8, 17, 19, 20, 30, 33; Britain proclaims protectorate over, 1884, 2 LOURI, W. R., 368 Lowe, Charles, cited. 2n Lucas, W. H. (b. Essex, Eng.), Lyng, Capt. J. (of Caulfield. Vic.; b. Denmark), vii, Government Printer and Interpreter, 86, 180, 191, 331, 332, (plate) 266 McAdam, Maj. T. L. (of Perth, W. Aust.; b. Redfern, N.S.W.), (plate) 266 (plate) 200 MacDonald, Lt.-Commr. D. (of Malbourne h. Ascot Vale, Melbourne; b. Ascot Vale, Vic.), vii, 146-7, 162-3, 166, 183-4, 204-6, (plate) 266
McDowell, Maj. J. A. (of Randwick NSW). N.S.W.; b. Glebe. wick, N.S.W.), (plate) 136 McGrath, T. J., vii Machine-guns, see Australian Naval & Military Expedi-TIONARY FORCE McIlwaine, Capt. W. E. (of Townsville, Q'ld; b. Townsville), (plate) 266 MACINTOSH, Capt. P. H. M. (of Sydney; b. Banchory, Scotland), 282, 339 S., Mackenzie, Lt.-Col. S. (plates) 266, 340 McLAREN, J. G., vii

McMurtrie, W.-O. H. E. (of Melbourne: b. St. Arnaud. Vic.), 283 McNeil, Engr. Rear-Adm. P. E. (of Moonee Ponds, Vic.: b. Melbourne), 172 Madang (Plates pp. 85, 166, 228; Map p. 10; Sk. pp. 11, 86, 108, 178), 18, 21, 22, 37, 47, 85, 89, 108, 118, 148, 161n, 162 et seq., 174, 176, 201, 203, 207, 210, 211, 212, 214, 255, 257, 282, 300, 315, 340; position of, 9, 11; climate at, 14; A.N. & M.E.F. occupies, 24 Sept. 1914, 86-8; garrison at, 178, 301; distance from Rabaul, 200; area of administrative district of, 295, lack of good roads, 298-9; punitive expedition sent from, against natives, July-Aug. 1915, 310-2 Madang, s.s., 124, 129, 149, 179, 203, 370, 371; Protector cap-201-2; searches for tures, Matunga, 341 MAGUIRE, Maj.-Gen. F. A. (of Sydney; b. Cobar, N.S.W.), becomes P.M.O. at Rabaul, 208; his achievement, 209-10; mentioned, vi, 25n, 192, 207, 212, (plate) MAKADA ISLAND (Map p. 52; Sk. p. 111), position of, 111 Makassar, 370 Makatea Island, position of, MALACCA (Map p. 18), 15 Malaguna (Map p. 52; Sk. p. 12), 369 Malai Bay, 191 MALAITA ISLAND, 228 MALAKAL HARBOUR, position of, 127-8 MALARIA, see DISEASES, MEDICAL Arrangements Malays, adopt neutral attitude, Manam Island (Map p. 10), 9 Manaswari Island, position of, IQ Mandates, see League of Nations, Nauru, New Guinea (CERMAN) M ANNING. Maj. C. E. (of N.S.W.; Hunter's Hill, Hill), Hunter's appointed Judge, 256; his achievement,

263-4; mentioned, 124, 125, 180,

191, 257, 258, (plates) 136, 208

MANNING, Capt. G. O. (of Papua; b. Hunter's Hill, N.S.W.), 180, 191, 306

Manson, Sir Patrick, 209

Manual of Military Law, 194, 259 Manus Island (Plate p. 220; Map p. 10; Sk. pp. 11, 178), 11, 13, 176, 184, 191, 225, 298; area of administrative district of, 295; see also ADMIRALTY Islands

MAPS, found on Germans in

Bitapaka advance, 57

MARIANNE ISLANDS (Map p. 4; Sk. p. 7), 3, 7, 94, 117, 138, 174, 289; British Government urges occupation of, 13 Oct. 1914, 151, Australian preparations, 152-60, project abandoned, 160; Japan occupies, 185

Mariea, position of, 311

Marienberg (Sk. p. 167), 168, 173, 298; position of, 167; German mission station at, 167, 171, 172 MARKHAM RIVER (Map p. 10),

11, 225, 299, 307 ISLAND (Map p. 10), MARON British flag hoisted on, Nov.

1914, 117; position of, 322 Marsden, Lt.-Col. T. R. (b. Kent,

Eng.), 25n, 133, 134

MARSHALL ISLANDS (Map p. 4; Sk. p. 7), 3, 4, 5, 7, 94, 106, 117, 138, 139, 174, 289, 362; British Government urges occupation of, 13 Oct. 1914, 151, Australian preparations, 152-60, project abandoned, 160; Japan occupies, 185

LAW, MARTIAL see Law (MARTIAL), PROCLAMATIONS

Martin, Brig-Gen. E. F. (of Waverley, N.S.W.; b. Launceston, Tas.), garrisons Madang, 24 Sept. 1914, 88; in Sepik expedition, Dec., 171-3; mentioned, 165, 169, 181

Massava Bay (Map p. 38), 46;

position of, 127

MATANDEDUK (Sk. p. 296), 297 Matunga, s.s., 195; Wolf captures, 339-41

Matupi, motor-schr., Nusa cap-

tures, 116

MATUPI HARBOUR (Maps pp. 46, 52; Sk. p. 12), 34, 38; position MATUPI HARBOUR—continued. of, 12; destroyers reconnuitre,

12 Aug. 1914, 50 MATUPI ISLAND (Maps pp. 46, 52; Sk. p. 12), 12, 22, 38, 110, 111, 218, 273, 330, 343, 369; battery emplaced on, 198-9, (plate) 198

MAUDERER, Sgt.-Maj. M., 55, 56, 57, 59, 66; wounded and cap-

tured, 54

Maughan, Lt.-Col. J. M. (of Edgecliff, N.S.W.; b. Ashfield, N.S.W.), 119, (plate) 136

Maverick, s.s., 322, 326 MAYER, Lt. G. A.,

commands native force in German New Guinea, 48; captured, 56; documents found on, 70; mentioned,

49, 52, 57, 60, 86 MEDICAL ARRANGEMENTS, inoculation and vaccination of troops, 35, 162; administration, 207-13, services of Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine not availed of, 207, 364-5; efforts to combat diseases, 210-8; evacuation of sick to Australia, 211; hosfor troops, 215, pitals natives, 212, 216, (plate) 216; inadequacy of, 364-5; see also Australian Naval & Military EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (ARMY MEDICAL CORPS), DISEASES

MEHAFFEY, Maj. J. M. (of Burraga, N.S.W.; b. Inver-cargill, N.Z.), 183, 212 Meklong, Ger. str. (Plates pp. 118, 202), 127, 149, 178, 200-1,

202, 203; takes expedition to Bougainville, 7-9 Sept. 1914, 118-q

Melbourne, 5, 25, 26, 157, 174, 175, 176, 178, 198, 239, 282, 302,

323, 358

Melbourne, H.M.A.S., 4, 143, 183, 361, 362, 371; leaves Suva for Nauru, 4 Sept. 1914, destroys wireless station, 9 Sept, 75, 148; 145, arrives Simpson Harbour, 12 Sept., 75

Melusia, s.s., 332n

Messina, s.s., 142, 145; transports garrison to Nauru, Oct.-Nov. 1914, 143, 144 METLIK (Sk. p. 296). 296

MILITARY OPERATIONS, see Aus-Naval & MILITARY TRALIAN EXPEDITIONARY Force, BITA-PAKA, KABAKAUL, NEW GUINEA (GERMAN) MILLEN, Senator Hon. E. D., 260
MILLER, Lt. F. J. (of Sydney; b.
Marrickville, N.S.W.), 368
MILLNER, Lt. J. S. (of Darlinghurst, N.S.W.; b. Marrickville, N.S.W.), (plate) 208 MILNE BAY, 17, 20 MINDANAO (Map p. 18), 17 MINES (LAND), German, under Kabakaul-Bitapaka road, 64-5, 73, (plate) 72; see also FORTIFICATIONS Minotaur, H M.S., 371 MIOKO ISLAND (Map p. 52; Sk. p. 111), 107, 110, 111, 273; position of, 22; see also DUKE OF YORK ISLANDS MISSIONARIES, British, assault on, 120-6, 257, 259-62, 266; German, 322, 326, anti-British attitude, 318-9, 323-4, 327, recommenda-tions of Royal Commission regarding, 356-7
MISSION STATIONS, British, 120, 121; German, at Vunadidir, 43, at Vlavelo, 46, at Vunapope, 56, at Marienberg, 167, 171, 172 Moewe, Ger. motor-schr., trial of master of, 322-3 Moffatt, 121 Signalman R. D., A.N. & M.E.F. (of Kensington, N.S.W.; b. Lostwithiel, Corn-wall, Eng.), 61 MÖLLER, Capt. K. G., 46, 129 MOLLOY, Lt-Gen. P., v-vi Molor, position of, 273 Moluccas (Maps pp. 4, 18), 15, 16 Montcalm, Fr. arm. cr., 79, 86, 88; leaves Rabaul for Suva, 3 Oct. 1914, 129

Moore, Capt. G. D. (of Adelaide;
b. Glanville, S. Aust.), 283

Moresby, s.s., 130, 287, 288

Moreton Bay, 28, 29 Morinda, s.s., 190 Morobe (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 11), 37, 120, 197, 201, 264, 300, 312, 315; position of, 11, 200; area of administrative district of, 295, lack of good roads, 299;

garrison at, 301

Mosquitoes, destruction of, 211,

213; see also DISEASES

MOTHER, MOUNT (Plate p. 17; Map p. 46; Sk. p. 45), 50, 199, 369, 370; German observationpost on, 45 Murex, Aust. oil tanker, 32 Murray, Sir Hubert (b. Sydney), vii, 153n, 356, 357 NAMALILI (Map p. 52), position of, 36 NAMANULA (Plates pp. 92, 101; Map p. 46), 208, 212, 213, 337, 370; position of, 46; Government House situated at, 46; removal of wireless station from, 204 Namanula Times, The. 331-2 NAMATANAI (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 296), 13, 264, 296, 297, 302; Germans assault British missionary at, 26 Oct. 1914, 120-6; administrative district of, 295, (plate) 290; garrison at, 301 NARES HARBOUR, 191; British flag hoisted at, Nov. 1914, 117
NATIVES, types of, 219; laws and customs of, 219-20, 274-5; control of, 220-7; recruiting of, 228-32, 305, 306, 328-9; protection of, 227, 229, 232-3, 363-4; comparison between British and German policy towards, 227-33; Military administration adopts German policy, 227, modifies, 229, 232-3, 305-6, 328-9, 364; health of, 216-8; native police, 39, 46, 47, 48, 73, 121, 145, 168, 172-3, 181, 197, 222-3, 301, 310, 311, (plate) 226; casualties in Bitapaka advance, 11 1914, 62, 65-6, 74, in punitive expeditions, 309, 310, 311, 312; capital punishment on. punitive expeditions against, 307-12; see also Discipline, LABOUR, NEW GUINEA (GER-MAN) Nauru Island (Plate p. 142; Maps pp. 4, 140; Sk. pp. 7, 139, 142), 4, 5, 6, 30, 94, 127, 162, 170, 176, 191, 204, 209, 212, 239, 348, 369, 370, 371; position of, 7; description of, 138-9; mining for phosphate at, 139-40,

royalty paid to German Govern-

ment, 140; importance of, 141;

wireless station at, 33, 141,

announces declaration of war, 5

NAURU ISLAND—continued.

Aug. 1914, 37, Melbourne destroys, 9 Sept., 45, 75, 145, 148,
Holmes endeavours to restore,
Nov., 145-6, low-power apparatus repaired, Dec., 146-7,
183-4; arrangements for occupation of, 142-4; A.N. & M.E.F.
occupies, 6 Nov. 1914, 144-5,
(plate) 146; mandate for, 147;
garrison in, 178, relieved, 183;
Gen. Griffiths appointed Administrator of, 147n, 360
NAVAL BRIGADE, see AUSTRALIAN

Naval Brigade, see Australian Naval & Military Expedi-

TIONARY FORCE

NAVAL OPERATIONS, see AUSTRALIAN NAVAL & MILITARY EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, AUSTRALIAN NAVY, NEW GUINEA (GERMAN) Navia, s.s., 189n, 195, 211; arrives Rabaul, 9 Feb. 1915, 192, leaves, 10 Feb., 193

NAVY, see Australian Navy, British Navy, German Navy Neuguinea Compagnie, see New

GUINEA COMPANY

Neu Lauenburg, 2; see also Duke of York Islands

NEU MECKLENBURG, 2, 11, 370; see also New Irei and

NEU POMMERN, 2, 11, 133, 374, 384, 386; see also New Britain New Britain (Plate p. 358; Maps pp. 4, 10, 18, 38; Sk. pp. 11, 178), 2, 3, 7, 14, 22, 27n, 29, 37, 44, 47, 48, 86, 94, 95, 108, 127, 128, 129, 131, 185, 205, 218, 220, 225, 273, 306, 340, 341, 343, 362, 378; topography of, 11-13; name, 18; A.N. & M.E.F. occupies, 50-85; area of administrative district of, 295; lack of good roads in, 297

New Britain Archipelago, 1, 2; see also Bismarck Archipelago

Newcastle, H.M.S., 371

New Guinea (Maps pp. 4, 18), 6, 18; Britain proclaims protectorate over south coast of, 1884, 2; Germany annexes territory in, 1884-9, 1-3, 22, subsidises development, 3-4; delimitation of British and German spheres, 1885, 8; discovery and history of, 15-22;

New Guinea—continued.
name, 17; Queensland annexes
portion of, 1883, 21, British
Government repudiates, 21; see
also New Guinea (Dutch),
New Guinea (German), Papua
New Guinea Act 1920, principles
of, 348-9

of, 348-9
New Guinea, British, see Papua
New Guinea Company (Plate p.
108), 9, 22, 88, 106, 112, 115,
200, 201, 231, 236, 240, 275-6
292, 298; operations and growth
of 107-10; acquires land in
German New Guinea, 273

German New Guinea, 273 New Guinea, Dutch, 7, 8, 19, 169, 288, 298, 312-3, 314, 324,

343 New Guinea, German (Map. p to), 26, 36, 161, 174, 345; area and population of, 8, 228; com-position of, 94; The Old Protectorate (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 7): composition, 7, 11-14, topography, 8-11, area, 8; The Island Territory (Sk. p. 7): composition, 7, 138, Holmes's plan for occupation of, 148, Japanese Navy searches, 149, organises Tropical Australia Force to occupy, 150-7, project abandoned, 157-60; powers of German Governor, 105-6; operations and growth of trading companies in, 106-13; proclamation of a state of war in, 6 Aug. 1914, 39, 372; plans for defence of, 41-5, 46-9; organisation of German forces in, 373; seat of Government transferred to Toma, 6 Aug., 38, 39-40, 41-3, 367, 369; Australian plans for attack on, 33-4; Patey's letter to Haber, 11 Sept., demanding surrender of, 51-2, 374-5, Haber's reply, 69-70, 275-6 Patey's second letter 12 374-5, Haber's reply, 69-70, 375-6, Patey's second letter, 12 Sept., 70-1, 376-8; Holmes's proclamation, 12 Sept., of military occupation of, 76-8, 94-5, 384-6; Holmes's letter, 12 Sept., to Haber, 378, Lederer's interim reply, 379-80, Haber's reply. 380-2; Holmes and Haber discuss terms of surrender, 15 Sept., 79-80, 17 Sept., 81-2;

New Guinea, German-contd. terms of capitulation of, 82-5, criticism in Australia, 90-1, 95, 99, review, 91-104; German forces surrender, 21 Sept., 85-6, (plates) SI; Patey's letter, 24 Sept., demanding surrender of Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, 87. 382-3, A.N. & M.E.F. occupies, 86-8; Holmes receives appointment as Administrator of, 20 Sept., 105; Holmes's administration of, 114-5, 174-5, 181-2, 184-8, Pethebridge criticises, 170, 177; Military administra-tion transferred to Pethebridge, 189; Pethebridge's administra-tion of, 170, 196-8, 335-41; Johnston becomes Administrator, 342, relieved by Griffiths, 344, numbers needed to garrison, 176, 177, and distribution of, 178; assault on British missionary in, 120-6, international consequences following on punishment of offenders, 259-62; administrative districts of, 197, 295, 300-1, strength of garrisons, 301, wireless stations, 301-2; new districts constituted, 1918-20, 343; functions of district officers, 302-5; types and customs of natives in, 219-20; administration of native affairs by Germany, 220-7, 232-3; recruiting of natives in, 228-32, 305, 306, 328-9; native labour regulations in, 232-3; native constabulary, 222-3; German law in, 253-6, 265-6; administration of law during military occupation, 251-3, 256-72; land policy, British, 277-86, German, 274-5; 273-4, 275-6, native, trade and commerce, under administration, 286-94, under German, 106-13; lack of good roads in, 297-9; punitive expeditions against natives of, 307-12; garrison life in, 316-7, 329-32; German in-trigues in, 318-28; Toll pro-claims martial law in, July 1915. 325-6; mandate for, conferred on Australia, 347, 348, 349; military occupation ceases, 9 May 1921, 349, 360; Australia's New Guinea, German—contd. rights under Peace Treaty to German property in, 350-4, Expropriation Ordinance, 344, 358-60; Australian Government appoints Royal Commission to visit, 355-6, its report, 356-8; inadequacy of medical arrangements in, under military administration, 364-5; see also Administration, Agriculture, AUSTRALIAN NAVAL & MILITARY Force, EXPEDITIONARY Сом-MERCE, DEFENCES, FINANCE, KAISER WILHELM'S LAND, LAND POLICY, LAW, MEDICAL ARRANGE-MENTS, NATIVES, NAURU, NEW BRITAIN, NEW HANOVER, NEW IRELAND, NORTH-WEST PACIFIC ISLANDS, ROADS, SURVEY, WIRE-LESS TELEGRAPHY New Hanover (Map p. 10; Sk. pp. 13, 296), 13, 14, 184, 191, 296, 306 New Hebrides (Map p. 4), 17 New Ireland (Maps pp. 4, 10, 18; Sk. pp. 11, 116, 178, 296), 2, 11, 14, 17, 45, 46, 48, 50, 79, 115, 116, 120, 123, 137, 176, 181, 184, 197, 200, 202, 210, 225, 295, 305, 306, 326; topography of, 13; name, 18; garrison in, 178; roads in, 296-7, (plate) 294
NEWMAN, A. F., vii
NEWMAN, W. A., vii
NEWPORT, Maj. H. O. (of Cairns, Q'land; b. India), 329n, 333-4, (plates) 266, 336 New South Wales, 21, 23, 24, Newspapers, Government Gazette, 256, 319, 358; Namanula Times, 331-2; Rabaul Record, 332 NEW ZEALAND, I, 3, 6, 21; expropriation of German properties by, in Samoa, 355 New Zealand, H.M.S., 368 NEW ZEALAND EXPEDITIONARY

Force, occupies Samoa, Aug.

NORDDEUTSCHER-LLCYD COMPANY,

1914, 29, 45, 79, 362 Ninico Island (Map p. 10), 13 Nissan Island (Map p. 10), 14 Nodup (Maps pp. 46, 52; Sk. p. 111), 110, 111

112, 287

NORMANBY ISLAND (Map p. 10),

NORRIE, Brig. E. C. (of Sydney; b. Grafton, N.S.W.), 143, 146
NORTH DAUGHTER (Plate p. 17;

Map p. 46), 369 Northern Territory of Aus-TRALIA, land policy in, 281
NORTH-WEST PACIFIC EXPEDITION, see Pacific Ocean

Noumea, 35 Nürnberg, S.M.S., 4 Nusa, s.s. (Plates pp. 129, 168). 119, 129, 130, 161, 164, 165, 179, 199, 200; takes expedition to Kawieng, 16-17 Oct. 1914, 115; Siar, Matupi, and captures Senta, 18 Oct., 116, Komet, 11

Oct., 131-7; in Sepik expeditions, 9-12 Dec. 1914, 167-8, 14-27 Dec., 171-3
NUSA HARBOUR (Plate p. 13), 13
NUTTALL, W.-O. M. C. (of Williamstown, Vic.; b. Heidelberg,

Vic.), 331n

OBSERVATION POSTS, see FORTIFI-CATIONS

Ocean Island (Map p. 4; Sk. pp. 139, 142), 142, 144, 176; position of, 139, 143; mining for phosphate on, 139-40, 141 Ognvy, Maj. H. L. S. B. (of Ren-

mark, S. Aust; b. Castleton, Co. Cork, Ireland), 308-10 GILVY, Capt. W. M. B. (of Ogilvy, Capt. Renmark, S. Aust.; b. Castleton,

Co. Cork, Ireland), 282, 310-2 OLD PROTECTORATE, THE, see New GUINEA (GERMAN) OPEN BAY (Maps pp. 10, 38), 11

ORANGERIE BAY, 19

PACIFIC ISLANDS COMPANY, 139; PACIFIC PHOSPHATE see also COMPANY

PACIFIC OCEAN, 12, 13, 15, 23, 28, 82, 90, 91, 94, 107, 146, 340, 343, 361, 362, 363; Bismarck's policy of colonisation in, 1, 2, 106, 108, 231, apprehensions of Queens-land Government, 1, 21; Germany annexes territory in, 1-3, develops trade, 3-4, 231; German warships in. Aug. 1914, 4; PACIFIC OCEAN—continued. German wireless stations in,

4-5, Britain suggests seizure, 6 Aug. 1914, 5-6; islands in northwestern Pacific: Holmes's plans for occupation, 148, Japanese Navy searches, 149, Australia organises Tropical Force to occupy, 150-7, project abandoned, 157-60

PACIFIC PHOSPHATE COMPANY, 142, 143, 146, 176; mines tor phosphate at Ocean Island and Nauru, 139-41; sells out to British, Aust. and N.Z. Governments, 147

PAGE, W. H., 261n
PALMER, Petty Officer G. R. (of Parkville, Vic.; b. Chelmsford, Essex, Eng.), 54

PALM ISLANDS (Plates pp. 35, 70; Sk. p. 30), 30; A.N. & M.E.F. assembles at, 29

Paluma, H.M.A.S., 155

Paparatava (Sk. p. 48), 67, 71, 370, 373, 377; position of, 49
Papua (Map p. 10), 8, 9, 19, 191,

200, 204, 314, 341, 356, 365, 366; population of, 228; protection of natives in, 231, 364; land policy in, 281

PAPUA, GULF OF (Map p. 10), 19 Parramatta, H.M.A.S. (Plate p. 168), 32, 34, 75, 164; reconnoitres Talili Bay, 11 Sept. 1914, 50; in Sepik expeditions, 9-12 Dec., 167-8, 14-27 Dec., 171

PARTRIDGE, Lt. R. (of St. Leonards, N.S.W.), (plate) 136

OF

Pastoralists' Association N.S.W., 157n

PATEY, Admiral Sir George (b. Montpellier House, near Plymouth, Eng.), his operation orders for occupation of Rabaul Herbertshöhe, 33-4; his demanding and letters to Haber surrender of German New Guinea, 11-12 Sept. 1914, 51-2, 70-1, 374-8, to District Officer at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, 24 Sept., 87, 382-3; his anxiety to engage German Pacific Squadron, 148-9; mentioned, 29, 32, 57, 68, 72, 75, 78, 129, 138, 142, 150, 362

PATON, Maj.-Gen. J. (of New-castle, N.S.W.; b. Newcastle), garrisons Rabaul, 12 Sept. 1914, 74; in capture of Komet, 131-3; mentioned, 25n, 134, 136, 179, 189, 192, 194, 195, (plates) 70, 136

PATROLS, Australian, scout ahead during Bitapaka advance, 54, 61 PEACE CONFERENCE (VERSAILLES). 347; discussions at, regarding private property of German nationals in occupied territory,

350-4

TREATY (VERSAILLES), PEACE 147; League of Nations constituted under, 345; its principles embodied in Covenant of League of Nations, 346-8; terms of, regarding German settlers in German New Guinea, 349-60; see also LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PEARCE, Rt. Hon. Sir George, 260, 335; his instructions to Pethe-

br1dge, 155-6

Pelew Islands (Map p. 4; Sk. p. 7), 3, 7, 94, 117, 127, 128, 138, 141, 174, 289; British Government urges occupation of, 13 Oct. 1914, 151, Australian preparations, 152-60, project abandoned, 160; Japan occupies, 185

PENLY, Lt. W. C. M. (of North Sydney; b. Marrickville, N.S.W.), (plate) 136

Peterhaven, position of, 128 Pethebridge, Brig.-Gen. Sir Samuel (of Brisbane and Melbourne; b. Brisbane), biography and estimate of, 154-5; commands Tropical Force, 154; re-Government's instrucceives tions, 155-6; appointed Austra-lian Commissioner for the Pacific, 157; leaves Sydney, 28 Nov. 1914, 162; arrives Madang, 7 Dec., 165; in Sepik expedition, 9-12 Dec., 167-8, (plate) 168; leaves Madang, 15 Dec., 169; arrives Rabaul, 17 Dec., 174; his criticism of Holmes's administration, 170, 177; leaves Rabaul with relief garrisons, 21 Dec., 178; at Nauru, 27-30 Dec., 183-4; appointed to relieve Holmes, 183, 184, takes over, 189; visits

Pethebridge, Brig.-Gen. Sir S .-continued.

Admiralty Islands, 17-27 Jan. 1915, 191-2; orders inspection of baggage of Holmes's force. 193-4; his administration of New 170, German Guinea, 196-8, 264-5, his achievement, 335-9; urges construction of high-power wireless station at Bitapaka, 204-5; issues procla-mation establishing Rabaul Branch of Commonwealth Bank, Rabaul 14 April 1916, 242-4; his land policy, 278-86, trade policy, 286-94; death of, 342; mentioned, 118, 146, 158 et seq., 173. 175, 179, 180, 182, 190, 199n, 201, 202, 209, 235, 238, 239, 248, 299, 301, 322, 326, 331, 333, 334n, 341, 343, 359, (plates) 154, 266, 328

Phibbs, Capt. E. F. (of Cairns, Q'land; b. Hampstead, Eng.),

(plate) 266

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (Maps pp. 4, 18), 17 PIER, at Rabaul, 50, (plate) 350 *Pioneer*, H.M.A.S., 151, 152 PITT COBBETT, Dr., see COBBETT Planet, S.M.S., 34, 37, 47, 137, 369

PLEASANT ISLAND, 6; see also NAURU ISLAND

NAURU ISLAND
POCKLEY, Capt. B. C. A. (of
Wahroonga, N.S.W.; b. North
Sydney), in Bitapaka advance,
II Sept. 1914, 53, 55, mortally
wounded, 59; mentioned, 25n,
67, 74, (plates) 57, 208
POCKLEY, Dr F. A., vii
POLICE, NATIVE, see NATIVES
PONAURE (Map. 14, 51, p. 148)

Ponape (Map p. 4; Sk. p. 148),

148, 150, 362 Роре, Н. В., vii

PORT ALEXIS (Plate p. 258), 89, 169, 298; position of, 88, 166

Port Arthur, 92

PORT JACKSON, 27
PORT MORESBY (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 30), 20, 21, 29, 30, 50; A.N. & M.E.F. arrives at, 4 Sept. 1914, 31; convoy leaves, 7 Sept. 31-2; wireless messages transmitted through, 166, 183

PORT WEBER, sce WEBER HARBOUR Possession, Cape, 20

POTSDAM HARBOUR, 310 Press, see Newspapers

Preston, Capt. H. D. (of Surrey Hills, Vic.; b. Northcote, Vic.), 196, (plate) 340

Prinz Eitel Friedrich, S.M.S., 88-9, 127

Prisoners, German, captured in Bitapaka advance, Sept. 1914, 54, 55, 64, 65, 66, 74, in Komet, 11 Oct., 132, 133, 134, 136
Proclamations, German, an-

Proclamations, German, announcing state of war at Rabaul, 6 Aug. 1914, 39, 372; British: Holmes's, 12 Sept. 1914, re military occupation of German New Guinea, 76-8, 94-5, 384-6, at Nauru, 6 Nov., 145, establishing Rabaul branch of Commonwealth Bank, 14 April 1916, 242-4, relating to German currency, 246-8, by Col. Toll, 23 July 1915, establishing martial law, 325-6, re change from military to civil administration, May 1921, 349

Propaganda, German, among natives, 318-28

Protector, H.M.A.S., 29, 30, 31, 75, 151, 152; captures Madang, 201-2

Punam, 297

PURDY ISLANDS (Map p. 10), 21 PUT-PUT, 38, 369; position of, 37

QUEENSLAND, 23, 27, 29, 365; British Government repudiates her annexation of portion of New Guinea, 1883, 1, 21 QUINN, Maj. H. (of Townsville,

Quinn, Maj. H. (of Townsville, O'land; b. Charters Towers, Q'land), 33n

Q'land), 33n QUINN, Lt. P. K. B. (of North Sydney; b. Emmaville, N.S.W.), (plate) 136

RABAUL (Plates pp. 6, 17, 37, 85, 246, 320, 324, 328, 336, 350; Maps pp. 10, 38, 46, 52; Sk. pp. 12, 41, 45, 178), 3, 4, 18, 20, 27n, 30, 31, 36 et seq., 49, 50, 69, 70, 71, 79, 81, 82, 86, 88, 91, 111 et seq., 123 et seq., 135, 138, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157n, 159, 161 et seq., 173 et seq., 189 et seq., 201, 202, 203, 205, 207 et seq., 210, 222, 225, 236, 237, 238, 239, 246, 249, 255, 256, 257, 262, 264, 269, 270, 278, 283, 286 et seq., 301, 302,

RABAUL-continued.

307, 308, 318, 319, 322, 324, 325, 326, 328, 334, 339, 340, 341, 342, 362, 363, 367, 369, 371, 376 et seq., 386; the seat of Government of German New Guinea, 7; position and description of, 12-13; climate at, 14-15; German proclamation of a state of war at, 6 Aug. 1914, 39, 372; Australian plans for occupation of, 33-4; Patey demands surrender of, 51, 374; A.N. & M.E.F. lands at and garrisons, 12 Sept., 74; British flag hoisted at, 13 Sept., 75, (plate) 76; proclamation of military occupation of German New Guinea read at, 13 Sept., 76-8; garrison at, 178, 197; King's Harbourmaster at, 180, 191, 197; naval defence of port of, 199; distance of, from administrative districts, 200; wireless station at, 204; branch of Commonwealth Bank established at, 14 April 1916, 242-4; garrison life in, 329-32; Botanic gardens at, 333, (plate) 336

333, (plate) 336 Rabaul Record, The, 332 Racoon, H.M.S., 128

RAKUNAI (Map p. 52), position of, 40

ot, 40
RALSTON, Lt.-Col. A. W. (of
Strathfield and Rose Bay,
N.S.W.; b. Croydon, N.S.W.),
124, (plates) 136, 208

RALUANA HEAD (Maps pp. 46, 52; Sk. p. 48), 71, 371, 373, 377; German observation-post on, 49; Australian battery emplaced on, 343, (plate) 344

RALUM, 371; position of, 111
RAMU RIVER (Map p. 10), 11,
225, 299; position of, 10
RAPINDIK, rifle range at, 330

RAPINDIK, rine range at, 330
RATAVUL (Map p. 52), look-out station at, 199

RAULAVAT, 46

RAVENSCROFT, Capt. L. B., (of Sydney; b. London), (plate) 136 RAWLINSON RANGE (Map p. 10), 9 READ, Lt-Commr. C. H. (of Randwick. N.S.W.: b. Darlingburgt

wick, N.S.W.; b. Darlinghurst, N.S.W.), (plate) 73

Read, Pte. J., 308
Recreations, of Rabaul garrison,
330

RECRUITING, see NATIVES Riasan, becomes Cormoran, 88n RITTER, Sgt. F., captured, 64, killed, 65-6 ROACHE, W.-O. P., R.A.N., 198n ROADS, in Gazelle Peninsula (Plates pp. 62, 64, 66, 67, 72, 320, 358; Map p. 60), 36-7, 40-1, 52, 53-4, 56, 68; in New Ireland, 296-7, (plate) 294; lack of, in German New Guinea, 297-9 ROBERT, Chief Petty Officer (acting Warrant Officer) G. G., R.A.N. (of Williamstown, Vic.; b. St. Peters Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands), 199n Roebourne, 204 ROOKE ISLAND (Map p. 10), position of, 14; name, 18 Rossel Island (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 30), 29, convoy leaves for, 32, assembles at, 33; description of, 33 ROSSEL LAGOON, 30, 33, 148 ROWLAND, Maj. N. de H. (of Ъ. Rockhampton. Sydney; Q'land), 272, 342 ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY, see Australian Navy ROYAL NAVY, see British NAVY RUGEN HARBOUR (Maps pp. 38, 52), position of, 37 Russ, Australian, employed in Bitapaka advance, 56, 57, 66 Russell Watson, see Watson RUSSIA, 37, 39, 369 RYAN, Lt. E. F. (of East Malvern, Vic; b. Adelaide), (plate) 340 SADLER, Lt.-Col. R. M. (of Hurstville, N.S.W.; b. Paddington, N.S.W.), 25n, (plate) 136 ST GEORGE, CAPE (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 296), 184, 296 St George's Channel (Plate p. 17; Map p. 10; Sk. pp. 12, 45), 34, 37-8, 41, 45, 49, 127, 273, 369; position of, 13, 18 St Matthias Island (Map p. IO), 14 ST PAUL, 370 SAMARAI (Map. p. 10), position of, 341 Samoa, Ger. schr., 120, 121, 370 Samoa Islands (Map p. 4), 3, 4, 6, 17, 90, 93, 107, 111, 224, 360, 370; N.Z.E.F. occupies, Aug. 1914, 29, 45, 79, 362; Ger-

man trading stations in, 106; outbreak of influenza among natives, 218; expropriation of German properties in, 355
SAMPSON, Maj. V. H. B. (of Sydney; b. Upper Manilla, N.S.W.), 40n, (plates) 85, 136
SANDFORD, Sqn. Ldr. F. E. (of Lithgow and Sydney, N.S.W.; b. Redfern, N.S.W.), (plate) 208 SANDY CAPE, 29 SANDYS, Gunner F. R., R.N. (b. Plaistow, Essex, Eng.), 60 San Francisco, 13, 322 SANITATION, 213; work A.A.M.C. German in 207, Guinea, 208; see Medical Arrangements SAVAII ISLAND (Map p. 4), 3 Scharnhorst, S.M.S., 4, 361 SCHERING PENINSULA, position of, of, 9 Schipmann, Sgt., 56 Schlangen Harbour, 299n SCHLEINITZ MOUNTAINS, 296 Schlettwein, A., viii, 39, 367, 371, SCHMIDT, German naval reserve officer, 373 Schouten Isles (Map p. 10), position of, 9
SCOUTING, see PATROLS
SEEADLER HARBOUR (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 11), 13 Senta, Ger. motor-schr., Nusa captures, 18 Oct. 1914, 116 SEPIK RIVER (Plates p. 168; Map p. 10; Sk. pp. 11, 167), 21, 44, 166, 170, 214, 225, 228, 298, 299, 300, 301; description of, 9-10; rumour that hostile Germans up, 161, Col. Legge's orders for expedition, 161-2; expeditions up, 9-12 Dec. 1914, 167-8, 14-27 Dec., 171-3 SERBIA, 369 Service, Hon. Sir James, 2 SHERBON, Maj. I. B. (of La Perouse, N.S.W.; b. Forest Perouse, N.S.W.; b. Forest Lodge, N.S.W.), 40n, (plates) 85, 136 SHIPPING, vessels used in German New Guinea for maintaining communication, 200-2 Siar, s.s., 38, 115, 128, 129, 149, 164, 165, 171, 203, 308, 370, 371: Nusa captures, 18 Oct.

SAMOA ISLANDS—continued.

Southport, s.s., 183

1914, 116, 201; carries expedition to Admiralties, Nov., 117 SICKNESS, see DISEASES, MEDICAL ARRANGEMENTS SIGABA, 299n
Signal, s.s., 163
SIGNALLING, telephone lines: connected with Toma, 44, from Kabakaul, cut, 57, between Toma and Bitapaka, cut, 67; see also Wireless Telegraphy SIGNAL SERVICES, see AUSTRALIAN NAVAL & MILITARY EXPEDI-TIONARY FORCE E. G. (of Simcocks. Capt. Towers, Q'land; b. Charters Junee, N.S.W.), 199n SIMMONS, Lt.-Col. W. F. (of b. Summer Sydney; b. Summer Hill, N.S.W.), 171, 212
SIMPSON HARBOUR (Plate p. 6; Hill, Maps pp. 46, 52; Sk. p. 12), 33-4, 40, 74-5, 131, 150, 151, 108, 199, 218, 322, 330, 333; position of, 12; name, 20; Australian squadron enters, 12 Aug. 1914, 38; Australian destroyers 1econnoitre, 11 Sept., 50 SIMSONHAFEN, 20, 51, 374, 376 SINGAPORE, 288 SKILLEN, 159 Able Seaman D. S., A.N. & M.E.F. (of Sydney; b. Ardrossan, Scotland), 61 SOCIETY ISLANDS, 141 Solf, -, German Governor of Samoa, 224 SOLOMON ISLANDS (Maps pp. 4, 10; Sk. pp. 7, 13, 178), 7, 19, 22, 94, 210, 225 22, 94, 210, 225 —British, 228, 231 -GERMAN (Plates p. 118), 14, 117, 118, 127n, 164, 174, 202, 228, 255, 343, 348; see also Bougain-ville Island, Buka Island SORAKEN, 307, 308-10 Sourabaya, 262 South Africa, Union of, expropriates German properties in South-west Africa, 355 South America, German Pacific squadron driven towards, 152, 361 South Australia, 23, 27 South Daughter (Plate p. 17; Map p. 46), 369

Siar—continued.

South-west AFRICA, GERMAN. mandate for, 347; expropriation of German properties in, 355 Spee, Admiral Graf von, 89n, 127, 148, 362; commands German Pacific squadron, 4 SPICE ISLANDS, 15, 16 SQUALLY ISLAND (Map. p. 10), 14 STEPHANSORT (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 108), 9, 108 Stevenson, Rear-Adm. J. B. (b. Liverpool, Eng), vii, 27, 33, 79, 82, 85 STIRLING, Engr. Lt.-Commr. J. P. (of Carrington, N.S W; b Carrington), 72 STORES, shortage in A.N. & M.E.F., 28-9; see also Supplies STRANGMAN, Col. C. L. (of Adelaide), becomes P.M.O., 192, 200; his achievement in German New Guinea, 209-11; mentioned, vii, 168, 193, 299, 332, 339, 341, (plate) 266
STRASBURG, Capt. J., 115, 116
STREET, Able Seaman H. W., Street, Able Seam A.N. & M.E.F., 65 SUD-EST ISLAND, position of, 33 SULLIVAN, Able Seaman T., AN. & M.E.F. (of Upper Mitcham, S. Aust.; b. London), 65 Sumatra, s.s., 127, 129, 130, 149, 203, 302n, 371; Australia captures, 11 Sept. 1914, 201 SUMATRA ISLAND (Map p. 18). Supplies, shortage in German New Guinea, 45, 97-8, 190-1, 229, in issues to Kennedy Regt., 31; gifts to A.N. & M.E.F., 157n; see also Stores Survey Section (Plates p. 284); see also Australian Naval & MILITARY EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (Survey Section) SUVA (Sk. pp. 30. 142), 33, 129, 142 SWINGER OPENING, 33 Sydney, 21, 29, 35, 129, 136, 142, 149, 152, 154, 157, 158, 160, 163, 164, 174, 176, 181, 190, 201, 203, 211, 215, 239, 261, 286, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 339; A.N. & M.E.F. assembles in, 26, 27, 28; Tropical Force leaves, 28; 'leaves, 118, 162

Sydney, H.M.A.S., 4, 30, 31, 32, 52, 53, 56, 67, 74, 361, 362, 368n, 371; escorts A.N. & 368n, 371; escorts A.N. & M.E.F. to Palm Island, 29; its rôle in proposed occupation of Rabaul, 33-4, reconnoitres for enemy warships before landing of A.N. & M.E.F., 50

TABAR ISLANDS, 14, 296; see also GARDNER ISLANDS TAFEL, E., capture of, 172

TAKUBAR (Map p. 60; Sk. pp. 48,

52), 49, 52, 56, 60

TALASEA (Maps pp. 10, 38), 132,

133; position of, 128

TALILI BAY (Plate p. 50; Maps pp. 38, 52; Sk. pp. 12, 45), 45, 46, 199; Parramatta reconnoitres, 11 Sept. 1914, 50

TAULIL (Map p. 52), 80, 81, 96; construction of reserve wireless

station in, 43, 44, 67

TAWANAKUS BAY, position of, 131 TAWUI, CAPE (Map p. 52; Sk. p. 50), 50

Taxes, see Finance Te Anau, s.s., 218

TEMBY, H. S., vii

TENNENT, Capt. J. T. (of Brisbane; b. Linlithgow, Scotland), (plate) 266

THOMPSON, Lt. W. E. (of Melbourne; b. Inglewood, Vic.), 308 THOROLD, Lt.-Col. R. S. Grant (of

London; b. London), 181 THRING, Capt. W. H. C Wilts, (b. Bradford-on-Avon, Eng.), 151

THURNWALD, Dr, 167, 172, 173 THURSDAY ISLAND (Sk. p. 30),

31, 136 TIKITERE HARBOUR, position of,

TOBERA (Map p. 52; Sk. pp. 41, 48), 40, 44, 370; position of, 49 Togoland, expropriation of German properties in, 355

Tokyo, riots in, cause abandonment of N.W. Pacific expedition, 160n

TÖLKE, E R., 368 Toll, Col. F W. (of Mount Molloy, Q'land.; b Bowen, Q'land), 153n; commands 3rd Bn., 154; acting Administrator of German New Guinea, 322-7; (plate) 150

TOMA (Plates pp. 42, 324; Maps pp. 38, 52; Sk. pp. 36, 41, 48, 68), 44, 49, 57, 66 et seq., 74, 78, 80, 85, 114, 236, 330, 368 et seq., 375 et seq.; position of, 40-1; German Government removes to, 6 Aug 1914, 38, 39-40, 41-3, 367, 369; A.N. & M.E.F. advances to, 14 Sept., 79

TONGA ISLANDS (Map p. 4), German trading 107, III;

station in, 106

Tonks, 422 Able Seaman J. H., A.N. & M.E.F.(b. Port Adelaide), 65

Töpfer River, position of, 10-11 Topography, of German New Guinea, 8-14; of New Britain, 11-13, 36; of New Ireland, 13 Torres Straits (Maps pp. 10, 18),

17, 19 Townsville (Sk. p. 30), 29, 30, 32, 33, 151, 206n; Aust. Institute of Tropical Medicine at, 207, 364-5

Trade, sec Commerce

Training, 330; of A N. & M.E.F., at Palm Island, 29-30, (plate) 35 Transports, see Berrima, Eastern, Navua

Travers, Lt.-Col. R. J. A. (of Bondi, N.S.W.; b. Glen Innes, N S.W.), in Bitapaka advance, 11 Sept. 1914, 58, 64-7; mentioned, 25, 72, 74, 86, 87, 180, (plate) 92

TRENCHES, see FORTIFICATIONS TROBRIAND ISLANDS (Map p. 10),

TROPICAL FORCE, see AUSTRALIAN NAVAL & MILITARY EXPEDI-TIONARY FORCE

TROPICAL MEDICINE, see MEDICAL ARRANGEMENTS

Trumble, T., vii, 335

TSINGTAO (Map p. 4). Germany establishes naval base at, 3, 4

Ulu Island (Map p. 52), 123; Methodist mission at, 121

Umboi Island, 14; see also Rooke

Una, H.M.A.S., 118, 120 152, 162, 164, 165, 169, 171, 173, 174, 198n, 199, 201, 326,

Una. H.M.A.S.—continued. Admiralty Pethebridge visits Islands in, Jan. 1915, 191-2; searches for Matunga, 340-1; see also Komet

Union Jack, hoisted at Herbertshohe, 11 Sept. 1914, 52, (plate) 180, Rabaul, 13 Sept., 74, at Madang, 24 Sept., 88, Kawieng. 17 Oct., 115, Admiralty Islands, Nov., 117, Kieta, 9 Dec., 119, (plate) 118, Nauru, 6 Nov., 145, (plate) 146, at H.Q. of each administrative district in German New Guinea, 295

United States of America, 346; representations for Germany in Cox affair, 261

Upolu, H.M.A.S., 29, 30, 75 Upolu Island (Map p. 4), 3

Verron Mountains, 297 VERSAILLES, peace conference at, 347, 350; Treaty signed at, 147, 345, 348, 355, 358; see also Peace Conference, Peace TREATY

Versija Island, 16 VICTOR EMMANUEL RANGE (Map p. 10), 9

VICTORIA, 23, 27; Government protests against German annexation in New Guinea, 1884, 2 VITIAZ STRAIT (Map p. 10), 18,

34I VLAVOLO (Map p. 52), 368; mission station at, 46

Vulcan Island (Map p. 46), 371 Vunadidir (Map p. 52), 44; mission station at, 43: German observation-post at, 49; Haber inspects troops at, 8t

VUNAPOPE, mission station at, 56

Waihora, s.s., 35 WALKER, Sgt. J., A.N. & M.E.F. (of Cullen Bullen, N.S.W.; b. Linlithgow, Scotland), 311, 312 WALKER, Able Seaman J. E., A.N. & M E.F. (of Ross Island. Q'land), 61n

WALKER, Capt. T. W. (of Toowoomba, Q'land; b. Bald Hill. Q'land), (plate) 266

WALLACK, Maj-Gen. E. T. (of Sydney; b. Great Yarmouth, Eng.), 104

Wanimo (Map p. 10), position of, 298; outpost formed at, 343 WARANGOI RIVER (Map p. 52; Sk. p. 41), position of, 41

WAR. EUROPEAN, declaration of, received at Rabaul, 5 Aug., 37, 367, 369, German Governor at Rabaul announces, 39

Waria River (Map p. 10), 299n Warrego, H.M.A.S., 32, 53, 57, 72, 164, 165; enters Simpson Harbour, 12 Aug. 1914, 368, 370; in Sepik expedition, 9-12 Dec., 167-8, (plate) 168, 14-27 Dec., 171-2

WARREN, Commr. W. H F.. (b. Logie Elphinstone, Pitcaple, Scotland), 168

Warsong Point, 9

Water, sterilisation of, 211, 213, 214

WATSON, Col. W. W. R. (of Balmain, N.S.W.; b. Sydney), commands 1st Bn., 25; lands at Herbertshöhe, 11 Sept. 1914, 67-8, re-embarks 12 Sept., 74; advances to Toma, 14 Sept., 79; occupies Bougainville, 9 Dec., 118-9; mentioned, 78, 80, 153, 179, 184, 189, 195, (plates) 70. 76
WEATHER, climate in German New

Guinea, 14-15, 33, 208-9, annual rainfall, 14, 214; tropical storms, 312, 329 WEBBER, Maj. C. (of Melbourne),

lands at Herbertshohe, 11 Sept. 1914, 50, 68; mentioned, 52, 56, 67, 69

WEDER, Dr G., 125, 126, 256, 257 WEBER HARBOUR (Maps pp. 38, 52; Sk. pp. 41, 128), 41, 46, 80, 85, 127

Weimer, Warrant Officer, 373 Weller, K., 367

Western Islands (Map p. 10; Sk. p. 13), 120, 128, 197, 298; composition, 13; A.N. & M.E.F. occupies, Nov. 1914, 117 WESTGARTH, Maj. J. E. (of Syd-

ney; b. Sydney), (plate) 136 WEWAK, 298

Whangape, s.s., 35

WHITE FLAG, raised by Germans during Bitapaka advance, 11 Sept. 1914, 64, 65 WHITEMAN, S. A., 368: interned

by Germans, Aug. 1914, 46;

WHITEMAN, S. A .- continued. accompanies expedition in capture of Komet, 129-30, 132, 133, 134, 136 WHITEMAN, T., 368; interned by Germans, Aug. 1914, 46 WHITING, Maj. C. (of HITING, Maj. C. W. (of Sydney; b. Randwick, N.S.W.), WHITTLE, Lt. J. S., 180 Wickham, Capt. H. (of Rosebud, Vic.; b. Moonee Ponds, Vic.), (plate) 266 WIDE BAY (Maps pp. 10, 38), 11 WILLAUMEZ PENINSULA (Maps pp. 10, 38; Sk. p. 128), 38 WILLIAMS, Able Seaman W. G. V., A.N. & M.E.F. (of Northcote, Vic.; b. Richmond, Vic.), 67; mortally wounded, 58, 59 Willis, Capt. V. A. B. (Sydney; b. Newcastle, N.S.W.), 168, 183, 201 Wilson, Capt A. G. B. (of London; b. Manchester, Eng.), 172 Wireless Telegraphy, German system in Pacific, 4-5, Britain suggests seizure, Aug. 1914, 5-6; German station at Bitapaka, 146, 367, 368, construction, 36, 37, 40, plans for defence. 42. garrison at, 48, Aust. advance to, 11 Sept. 1914, 53-68, 72, reconstructed as a high-power station, 204-6, (plate) 204; German reserve station in Taulil district, 43, 44; German station at Apia, 45; German station at Nauru, 33, 141, (plate) 142, Melbourne destroys, 9 Sept. 1914, 45, 75, 145, 148, low-power apparatus repaired, Dec., 145-7, 183-4; German station at Yap, 149, Hampshire destroys, 12 Aug. 1914, 45, 148, 371; Australian scheme for erecting stations in captured German islands, 162-3; stations erected at H.Q. of administrative districts, 301-2

Wisdom, Brig.-Gen. E. A. (of Cottesloe, W. Aust.; b. Inverness, Scotland), becomes Administrator of German New Guinea, 360 Witu, Ger. motor-schr., 171 WITU ISLANDS (Maps pp. 10, 38; Sk. pp. 13, 128), 14: position of, Wolf, S.M.S., captures Matunga, 339-41 Wolfrum, Dr, 168 WOODLARK ISLAND (Map p. 10), 8, 35, 341; wireless station at, 204, 205 Workman, C., 183, 184: becomes Administrator of Nauru, 142 Wostrack, W., 145 Wounded, see Casualties WUCHERT, Capt., commands German garrison at Bitapaka, 48; captured, 55; mentioned, 56, 57, 60, 373 WUNAKOKOR RIDGE, 40, 79 WYLDE, Gen. E. A., 46, 370 YANGOR, position of, 138

position of, 5; Hampshire destroys wireless station at, 12 Aug. 1914, 45, 148, 371; Japanese occupy, 7 Oct., 149; Australian plans for relieving Japanese in, 150-60, project abandoned, 160n; see also CAROLINE ISLANDS Yarra, H.M.A.S., 32, 53, 57, 60, 162, 167, 371; arrives Rabaul, 1 Dec. 1914, 164; in Sepik expedition, 14-27 Dec, 171 YEO, Lt.-Commr. S. T. P. (of Stoke Devonport, Eng.; b. Stonehouse, Devon, Eng.), 60; lands at Kabakaul, II Sept. 1914, 53

YAP (Map p. 4; Sk. p. 148), 4,

30, 89, 138, 163, 255, 362, 370;